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This thesis is dedicated to my father, Mr. James Mzoma, and my late mother, Fatima Mzoma. Both of them strived to educate me despite themselves not having had an opportunity to go to school. May Almighty Allah shower His mercy upon them.
DECLARATION

I declare that ‘The Acquisition Of isiZulu as a destination language by Malawian and Nigerian immigrants in Johannesburg’ is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

…………….                                                                                                ……………

Signature                                                                                                       Date.
Abstract

Destination language acquisition is a subject that has received quite a considerable attention in most European developed countries that have a higher rate of international migration intake. This attention was motivated by the fact that language is predominant among challenges immigrants face in their early days of stay in the new host societies. The demise of the apartheid era in South Africa in the year 1994, marked the beginning of a new trend of the country’s migration whereby many African citizens from various countries within the continent flooded the country. This scenario however, provokes a new interest in linguistics research whereby African indigenous languages are increasingly emerging to be an important area of inquiry. This is because, unlike white immigrants, African immigrants live amongst the native black South Africans who speak various indigenous languages, hence the need to learn them as destination languages.

The main purpose of this study is to explore, compare and analyse Malawian and Nigerian immigrants’ experiences with regard to the acquisition of isiZulu as a destination language in Johannesburg. The central objective is to determine the extent to which the two groups respond to the acquisition of isiZulu, and at the same time explain the possible reasons or factors contributing to differences in the trend of acquisition. The study’s main question examines the participants’ accounts of their isiZulu encounters in Johannesburg, as it also focuses on uncovering how they respond to such situations. The study is descriptive, investigative and exploratory in nature. It has adopted a phenomenological research design and qualitative as its main research approach. In order to get to the bottom of the phenomenon under investigation, a qualitative method of interview was used. The researcher conducted one-on-one semi-structured recorded interview with each respondent, and the resultant data was analysed thematically.

The overall results from the data indicates that Malawian nationals respond better to the acquisition of isiZulu, than their Nigerian counterparts, who, according to the empirical findings, do not seem to make any significant progress in isiZulu acquisition beyond the level of greetings. Several reasons or factors contribute to the differential rate of isiZulu acquisition between the two groups. Among the key contributing factors are: differences with respect to the social contexts under which
each group appears to learn the language, the socio-cultural and linguistic distance between each of the learners’ groups and that of the target language group, attitudinal differences and the management of such affective factors, the nature of multilingualism in the countries of origin and other factors.

KEY WORDS
IsiZulu acquisition
Destination language acquisition
Malawian immigrants
Nigerian immigrants
IsiZulu in Johannesburg
IsiZulu as destination language
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CHAPTER ONE
ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction
Language is key to immigrants’ integration into the receiving communities, and through it, they are able to make friendship with the natives, participate in various socio-economic activities and negotiate access to numerous services available to them. Scholars (such as Loewen 2004; Esser 2006) comment that immigrants’ adaptation successes in the host societies are generally gauged by the degree to which they are able to acquire a destination language concerned.

This chapter provides the general introduction of the study, by outlining its aims and objectives, the research problem, context of the research problem, research questions and motivation for the study, significance, and structure of the study. Additionally, this chapter presents an overview of the context and frameworks upon which the study is based. It also presents a summary of the research design, population and methods used for collecting data for this study. A detailed account of the research design and methods will be presented in the chapter 3 to the research methodology. Definitions of terms key to understanding the study are also presented in this chapter.

1.2 Context and research problem identification
Since the introduction of democracy in the 1994, South Africa has become the new destination country for many African immigrants in the continent (Orman, 2012). These immigrants are either refugees or economic migrants who enter the country to look for better jobs and other economic opportunities available. The majority of such newcomers live in the midst of local black South Africans who speak different African indigenous languages. This being the case, the incomers are exposed to different experiences in as far as the acquisition of various South African indigenous languages is concerned. Most of African migrants come to South Africa as labourers, and language poses to be their immediate challenge upon arrival in the country, as some of them do not speak English, a language, according to Henrard (2003) is considered to be a lingua-franca in public domain. The context of this study
therefore, is the African immigrants of Malawian and Nigerian origin residing alongside with black South Africans in various suburbs of Johannesburg. As they live and work with the locals, conditions may necessitate that they acquire at least one of the indigenous languages, dominant among such languages is isiZulu. The constructual orientation of this study therefore, is the nature of experiences the Malawian and Nigerian immigrants have, with regard to learning of isiZulu in Johannesburg. This leads to a critical question of how the two groups respond to naturalistic learning of isiZulu in Johannesburg.

1.3 Research aims and objectives

The general aim of this study is to explore, compare and analyse experiences of Malawian and Nigerian immigrants with regard to isiZulu acquisition in Johannesburg. Specifically, the aim is to determine factors underlying the differences in trends of acquisition between the two groupings. The study does not seek to test proficiency levels of the two groups but aims at lobbying for self-reported information about informants' knowledge of isiZulu. An introductory question of whether the respondent has knowledge of any of South African indigenous languages will be asked, and subsequent questions will focus on respondent’s encounter with isiZulu as the common language among speakers of different indigenous languages in Johannesburg. One may report not to have acquired it, but still could share reasons for failure to do so despite dominance and wide use of the isiZulu among the blacks in the city.

In order to achieve its aim, the study has been divided into a number of specific objectives and these are:

1. To identify trends of isiZulu acquisition and use between Malawian and Nigerian nationals and determine contributing factors to differences, if any.

2. To determine the extent to which both Malawian and Nigerian nationals respond to isiZulu acquisition.

3. To determine practices that foster or hinder acquisition of isiZulu among Malawian and Nigerian immigrants.
4. To discover attitudes of both Malawian and Nigerian foreigners towards isiZulu and its native speakers and determine how such attitudes impact on acquisition.

1.4 Research questions

The main question this study ought to answer is about the general experiences of Malawian and Nigerian immigrants with regard to acquisition of isiZulu in Johannesburg. For this question to be answered aptly, a number of specific questions were posed to the respondents which include the following:

1. What are the Malawian and Nigerian experiences with regard to acquisition of isiZulu in Johannesburg?
2. In which ways have the Malawian and Nigerian immigrants been exposed to isiZulu?
3. What roles does isiZulu play to foreign nationals and how do immigrants from Malawi and Nigeria relate to native South Africans?
4. How do the Malawian and Nigerian immigrants respond to learning of isiZulu?

1.5 Significance of the study

Most of the research works conducted on immigrants and language learning in South Africa, have not focused on learning or acquisition of African native languages including isiZulu, but, rather on the learning of English and other European languages in a classroom environment (Mbokazi, 1991; Mabila, 2001). The study of migration and acquisition of African indigenous languages has received limited attention in the literature. Orman (2012) points out that the linguistic perspective of African migration to post-apartheid South Africa has not received the attention it deserves from language scholars. He further argues that studies (e.g. sociology) that have been conducted on African immigrants in South Africa have not addressed language issues of the migrants simply because language has not been seen to be a problem. This study therefore, is extremely important as it intends to address the less accounted phenomenon and contributes to the literature about acquisition of African indigenous languages by immigrants in the city of Johannesburg. By so
the research helps to overcome the shortcomings of previous studies in this area of research.

1.6 Motivation for the study

The choice for Malawian and Nigerian immigrant groupings, as the two populations of the participants of this study, was triggered by the unsubstantiated claims of an interviewee during my master’s studies. This interviewee alleged, while explaining the role of exposure, that Nigerian nationals are fond of promoting intra-group relationships. This is the reason it becomes difficult for them to acculturate and acquire native languages of South Africa. On the other hand, the same interviewee spoke highly about Malawians that they are extrovert and associate well with black South Africans, hence the acquisition of various African languages tends to be easy for them. Since Malawians were the only population of participants for my master’s study, this unexpected claim inspired me so much that I saw a need for a comparative kind of study involving participants from the two mentioned groups, hence the hypothesis became the focus for this doctoral study.

IsiZulu was chosen out of many other languages spoken in Johannesburg, because it is the common and dominant language among speakers of various South African indigenous languages in the city. The other South African native languages spoken in Johannesburg are: isiNdebele, isiXhosa, Sepedi, Sesotho, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga and Setswana. Lafon (2005) observes that isiZulu competes with English on the role of lingua-franca among speakers of different African languages in Gauteng. According to Mbokazi (1991), isiZulu is the highly developed language among all other African languages in the country. The majority of the black South African population speak isiZulu as their first language. According to South Africa’s Census of 2011, there are 11 587 374 South Africans who speak isiZulu as their first language, and this constitutes 22.7% of the total population of the country. Second to isiZulu comes isiXhosa with 16.0%, then Afrikaans 13.5% and English falls at number 4 with only 9.6% of the total population.
1.7 Definition of terms

Working definitions of terms have been included at this stage in order to prepare the readers well in advance on how such terms should be understood when and wherever encountered in the study. Theories about some key terms and terminologies are presented in the following chapter on literature review, while definitions on methodological terms will be presented in chapter 3 on research methodology. The terms defined in this section are ‘immigrants’, ‘second language’, ‘destination language’, and ‘acquisition’.

1.7.1 Immigrants

The term immigrants, according to Segal and Mayadas (2005), refers to foreigners who willingly leave their homelands to another, after being attracted by the standard of living in the preferred destination countries. Although both immigrants and refugees are foreigners, Segal and Mayadas (2005) state that the two are technically different, in the sense that circumstances for refugees have little in common with those of immigrants. Initially, refugees do not intend to leave their home countries but are forced to do so for safety reasons, as they fear persecution in their homelands if they do not leave. While immigrants on one hand plan their migration and are at liberty to carry some stuff with them, refugees, on the other hand, do not plan their move and often do not carry any of their belongings with them as they escape. The following definition of refugee by the United Nations High Commissions for Refugees (UNHCR) sheds more light on the difference between refugee and immigrant. The UNHCR views a refugee as any person who:

… owing to well-confounded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.

(UNHCR, 2010:14)
Immigrants are not subjected to any of the fears cited above. They are free to return to their country of origin whenever they feel like doing so. The description of Malawian and Nigerian nationals as immigrants in the title of this research was deemed to be appropriate as, lately, the two countries have not experienced any serious conflicts warranting an involuntary decision of movement by citizens. That is, most Malawian and Nigerian foreigners who come to South Africa, do so at their own will probably as the results of being attracted by the economic activities in the country.

1.7.2 Second Language

Ortega (2013:1) describes language as ‘... one of the most uniquely human capacities that our species possesses, and one that is involved in all others, including consciousness, sociality and culture’. She mentions that human language manifests itself in three systems: spoken, written and signed systems. She observes that all world languages share one thing in common and that is ‘abstract property’. That is, languages cannot be seen nor felt as they have no physical being. It is because of this universal characteristic that linguists work toward describing them.

Thomas and Kaufman (1988) mention three characteristics of a language and these are:

a) They are systematic: they are made of repeated elements and have endless possible expressions. They have rules and principles of which speakers are usually not aware of.

b) Languages are symbolic: Thomas and Kaufman (1988) comment that sounds, and letters of a language do not naturally contain any meaning, but rather it is the speech community of that language who attach meanings to such letters and sounds.

c) Languages are socially constructed: According to Thomas and Kaufman (1988), every language reflects social requirement of its speech community. They argue with respect to ‘first language’ that although its acquisition is inevitable for every
person, such acquisition may not happen without social contact. Thomas and Kaufman (1988) further contend that there is not a measuring tape to determine effectiveness of one language over the other except by looking at how speakers achieve their social assignments through the use of such languages.

The term ‘Second Language’ (L2), technically refers to any language learned or acquired after the first language or set of first languages. It does not literary point to chronological order of the language being acquired or learned (Hammarberg 2010).

1.7.3 Destination language

The word ‘destination’, according to Cambridge Online Dictionary, refers to ‘the place where someone is going or where something is being sent or taken’. The term ‘destination language’ therefore, with regard to immigrants refers to a target dominant language of the receiving country, region, city or town in a host country (Chiswick and Miller 2001). In their article, ‘Destination-language proficiency in cross-national perspective’, van Tubergen and Kalmijn (2005) outline the reasons behind the concern about the extent to which immigrants are expected to master the target language as follows:

Because of the growing proportion of immigrants in many Western societies, there has been an increasing concern for the degree to which immigrants acquire the language that is spoken in the destination country. The reasons for this concern are clear: language skills are a form of human capital that positively affects immigrants’ earnings and labour market opportunities.

1.7.4 Acquisition

The term acquisition has been employed in this study to simply indicate that attainment of the said language takes place in naturalistic language environment, as opposed to classroom language learning situation (Krashen 1976, 1981, 1982 and 2013). The term acquisition however, has been used without its much-associated connotation of subconscious, as the debate on acquisition vs. learning in the subsequent chapter shows that language production in both situations can be conscious or unconscious (Schmidt 1990).
1.7.5 Malawian immigrants

These are research interviewees sampled from Malawian population working in the informal economy of South Africa, specifically, in small and informal companies in the country.

1.7.6 Nigerian participants

These are research interviewees of Nigerian origin, and who largely own small informal businesses in Johannesburg.

1.8 Language and international migration flows

This section provides a historical overview of world migration trends and explains how language has been an integral part of migration in human history. It highlights the socio-linguistic and some economic effects of migration and why language competency constitutes one of the key decisive factors on the choice of destinations for some migrants, specifically, the voluntary ones.

Migration, according to Kerswill (2006) is the main cause for contact-induced changes. He contends that almost every experience of migration, except that which involves an ethnic group moving to a new and isolated place, language or at least dialect contact becomes a given scenario. He further notes that three things are affected by migration and these are the origin or source society, the destination society and the migrants themselves. This is simply because the demographics of both the sending and the receiving communities are affected, and so are the migrants themselves, as they would be required to adjust to a new socio-linguistic environment and go through the pain of becoming a minority linguistic group in the wider receiving speech community. Mirsky (1991: 624) notes:

Immigration is accompanied by a deep sense of loss. One loses one’s homeland, family, friends, culture and language which occupied not only one’s everyday life, but more importantly, one’s self-identity and the internal representation of one’s objects.

Kerswill (2006) wonders why, historically, the study of linguistic effects of migration has been separated from that which focused on the spread of linguistic innovation through geographical diffusion such as expansion diffusion or relocation diffusion.
within the borders of a state. He argues that contact-induced linguistic changes such as second dialect acquisition, accommodation, mixing, simplification, levelling, reallocation and others, would happen if migrants move to a place where the host’s language varieties are mutually intelligible with their own language. He points out that the extent to which such linguistic changes would take place depends upon the nature of contact and the speech communities involved. He regards reallocation as migration since both meet the four agreed upon parameters and consequences of migration which are space, time, motivation and socio-cultural factors. Despite treating the two as equals, Kerswill (2006) however, points out that cross-border migration is most likely to have greater socio-cultural and linguistic effect because of the magnitude of difference between immigrants’ source society and that of the host.

In addition to pidginisation and creolisation, Kerswill (2006) observes that another potential effect of migration is the creation of a new dialect through a process he calls ‘koeneisation’. This is a process of mixing linguistic elements from two or more language varieties in contact in order to come up with a unifying language. It involves weeding of language features that are unique to a particular language. Koeneisation, according to Kerswill (2006) mostly happens when people from different places converge at a new place not known to have its own language or dialect. Perhaps a close example of koeneisation in the South African context, could be that of ‘Fanakalo’, a unifying language of communication in South African mining industry. As rightly commented by South African History Online (2017), Fanakalo or Fanagalo was a language of contact for the mining heterogeneous work force which comprised of people from various African countries, including South Africans of different ethnolinguistic background. Hock (1991: 485) defines Koen as:

… de-regionalised regional language or dialects which because of their de-regionalisation become potential vehicles for supra-regional communication … The mechanism for this de-regionalisation, in turn, seems to lie in interlanguage.

Pidgins, according to Hock (1991), are speech varieties that emerged from the effect of colonisation. He describes Pidgins as having a ‘…radical simplification of linguistic structure and radical reduction of vocabulary’ (Hock 1991: 512). He comments that Pidgins use is limited to certain social conditions because of the limitation in size of
their vocabularies. Creole, on the other hand, is an expanded version of pidgin. Hock (1991) remarks that when adults, particularly parents, adopt pidgin as the only source of communication, automatically the variety becomes the native language for the new generation of children and is subjected to expansion due an increased social conditions and tasks that are required to be achieved through language use. The resultant elaborated variety therefore, is what is known as Creole.

1.8.1 Waves of international migration

Castles (2018:151) defines migration as ‘crossing the boundary of a political or administrative unit for a certain minimum period’, and international migration as ‘... crossing the frontiers which separate one of the world’s approximately 200 states from another’. Irrespective of distance variability between countries, any international migration is equally most likely to have a linguistic effect on a migrant whose source language is different from that of the destination. Castles (2018) contends that because of various conditions ranging from natural disasters caused by climate change, warfare, formation of states and empires, and living standard conditions, human migration has always taken place in human history. He mentions three major causes of migration in history, and these are colonialism, industrialisation and forced labour of Africans to go and work in various colonial empires. World migration trends have been categorised into three main periods: the first wave of migration: 1870 – 1913, the second wave of migration: 1950 – 1980s and the last wave, which spans from 1980s – 1990s including the current period (Solimano 2004; Ertekin and Dural 2013). Below is a brief discussion of each of the waves.

1.8.2 The first wave of globalisation and the age of mass migration: 1870 – 1913

This is what the scholars have described to be the period of free trade and free mobility of capital. The modernisation and industrialisation activities in Western Europe gave rise to a problem of scarcity of land for peasant farmers to cultivate. This led to mass migration of citizens from rural areas to cities, with a big portion of people also crossing the borders to other foreign countries. According to Solimano (2004), Ertekin and Dural (2013), and Castles (2018), this period was characterised by large flows of international migration, hence describing it as the age of mass
migration. About 60 million people, according to Solimano (2004), migrated from what he calls ‘resource-scarce and labour-abundant’ European countries, such as France, The United Kingdom, Spain, Portugal, Poland, Russia and Romania, to ‘resource-abundant and labour-scarce’ countries like Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, New Zealand and the United States of America, Uruguay, Mexico, Cuba and Chile. According to Castles (2018), America alone hosted about 30 million immigrants in the period between 1881 - 1920. This is because of the growth of American economy, as pointed out by Castles (2018), depended on importation of foreign skills. The most migration movements in the first wave of migration was by Europeans, who, according to Massey (1988), about 48 million of them left their continent to outside countries as mentioned above. Another notable contributing factor to swelling numbers of international migration flows during this period, as noted by Solimano (2004), is that migration policies of the time were not prohibitive.

The age of mass migration continued until the period between 1918 and 1945, when international migration slowed down due to economic and political instability caused largely by world wars 1 and 2, which led to restrictive migration policies in many receiving countries.

1.8.3 The Second wave of international migration: 1950 – 1980 period

In the aftermaths of World War 2, most European countries engaged into rebuilding exercise of their economies. Consequently, the rebuilding efforts led to economic prosperity in the world economy, and once again, international labour migration resumed.

1.8.4 The third wave of international migration: 1980s – 1990s

According to Solimano (2004) and Castles (2018), the period between the 1980s and 1990s has seen a more rapid growth of international migration than any time ever in the human history. Castles (2018) reports that in this period, the number of world migrants was between 135 to 145 million, excluding 13 million of refugees in the same period. The United States of America (USA) is one of the countries that received a higher rate of migration flows in this period.
One of the key factors contributing to an increased rate of migration flows in recent years, according to Fobker and Imani (2017), is the initiative of importing foreign skills taken by many developed countries, which are competing to attract and retain highly skilled international migrants. Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaochi, Pellegrino and Taylor (1993) mention that the transformation of many European countries from immigrants-sending to immigrants-receiving countries have contributed to rapid growth of international migration flows in the recent times. Fobker and Imani (2017) observe that in recent skilled and professional migration, language is increasingly becoming a determining factor for a destination choice of most skilled migrants seeking greener pastures outside their countries. The Knowledge of a destination language becomes critical if it is the dominant medium of instruction in both one’s daily personal life and professional dealings. They describe the importance of destination countries national languages as follow:

The extent to which one can manage without learning the national language certainly depends highly on whether sound knowledge of the national language is necessary for exercising one’s vocation and managing daily life.

(Fobker and Iman, 2017: 2722 – 2723)

Fobker and Imani (2017) further suggest that since English is the uniting language for most international corporates and educational institutions, the knowledge of non-English national languages might not be that important, except in countries whose majority citizens do not possess a good command of the language, as is the case in Germany. They note that in Germany, skilled migrants require the acquisition of sound German language skills for them to be able to transfer the skills acquired from the country of origin to the destination country. The inability to use the destination country’s dominant national language would deter progress in the destination labour market on the part of the migrants.

Adsera and Pytlíkova (2012) note that the ability to learn and speak the language of the intended destination has become a key factor in international migration decision. They contend that international migrants are most likely to go to countries with familiar languages so as to cut the costs involved in the exercise of skills transfer from the source to the receiving country. Adsera and Pytlíkova (2012) further mention that countries with diverse linguistic background attract fewer migrants
compared to monolingual countries where migrants expect to face a single language of wider use.

In their article, ‘International migration and the economics of language’, Chiswick and Miller (2014) point out that because of the increased rate of international migration flows in the third wave migration period, economists, in the 1980s, started to view language skills of the immigrants as an important form of human capital. Interest in seeing language skills as human capital was triggered by large flows of non-English migrants to the United States of American and Canada. Because of the economists’ interest to establish determining factors of migrants of social and economic integration into host societies, and their inquest to know what facilitates transferring of human capital from the source to the host, language skills were equally regarded to be an important form of human capital. According to Chiswick and Miller (2014), language satisfies three conditions of human capita and these are productivity, cost and being embodied in person. Language skills contribute to productivity at work, as one is able to transfer the skills from the source to the host through the use of a language understood by all. Language does also meet a cost requirement, as it takes time and money for one to be able to acquire a particular language. Just as other forms of human capital are embodied in person, language too is personified, hence it meets all the three requirements of human capital.

Colic-Peisker (2002), investigated migration language experience differences between Non-English-Speaking Background and the English-Speaking Background Croatian immigrants in an Australian English environment. The two samples comprised of the Croatian working-class of the 1960s – 1970s wave of migrants and the 1980s – 1990s wave of professional and skilled migrants to Australia. In the analysis of demographic information of the two groups of migrants, Colic-Peisker (2002) found out that the 1960s – 1970s Croatian wave of migrants who migrated as part of Australia’s imported labour, had limited, if not zero, level of English with partial or no formal education at all. in fact, Colic-Peisker (2002) comments that language was not a requirement in the 1960s – 1970s wave of migration. This group of migrants were subjected to low paid and less status jobs in manufacturing companies. They reported many language-related challenges which include inability to switch jobs, lack of promotion, restricted social mobility due to lack of fluency in
the destination language, shopping difficulties, inability to communicate with children's teachers and many more. Due to their incompetency in Australian English, they preferred to work in fellow Croatian enclaves and spent much of their free time within such enclaves.

On the other hand, as skilled professionals, the later migrants of 1980s – 1990s, had a working knowledge of English, hence communication was not a major challenge for them. However, despite having a sound working knowledge of English, Colic-Peisker (2002) reports that professional migrants still had to acquire the Australian cultural competency necessary for the mastering of native communication styles and norms. Some professionals complained of their inability to observe the country’s communication norms such as giving turns and avoiding interrupting each other during conversation. They also observed that the locals do not like to be too loud when talking and that they prefer an indirect way of giving instructions, rather than the usual way of saying things which the Croatians have been used to. The other important observation was that the natives were much willing to be engaged in a heated debate without losing tempers, a communication skill which lacked in some migrants despite having the pure linguistic competence of the language. It is clear from the above observations that language competency is something beyond spoken and written competencies, as it includes the acquisition of the cultural communication norms required for the smooth running of conversation.

Another noticeable change in the pattern of third wave migration, as mentioned by Massey et al. (1993), is the composition diversification of the migrants themselves. While previous waves of migration in major receiving-countries such as the United States of America and Canada were composed of European migrants, Massey et al. (1993) note that the third wave of migration has moved more toward Asia, Africa and Latin America.

1.9 Determinants of migration

One of the most cited determinants of international migration is the varying levels of economic development in source and destination countries. The difference in standards of living between rich and poor countries is a major cause of migration.
Migrants, according to Ertekin and Dural (2013), are mostly attracted by the improved living conditions in the destination countries, and these conditions serve as the pull factors. Massey (1988: 383) describes economic development as:

…the application of capital to raise human productivity, generate wealth and increase national income. Associated with it are constellation of social and cultural changes that scholars generally call ‘modernisation’.

Massey (1988) suggests that while the widely held view about causes of migrations points to the fact that people’s decision to move is inflamed by lack of economic prosperity in the source countries, an effective solution to curb migration is to economically empower the sending countries. The promotion of the sending countries’ economies would somehow level the economic grounds of both the sending and receiving countries, hence migrants would no longer feel the need to migrate. He cites an example of previously underdeveloped European countries that used to provide high rates of migrants to the United States of America, that the trend has now been considerably reduced to improved economy in those countries. Massey (1988) notes that although the short-term effect of economic development would trigger migration, as it may lead to the displacement of some citizens, the long-term effect is that high rate of migration flows would be reduced in the end. This is owing to emerging economic prosperity in the source country which would render economic prospects equal in both the sending and receiving countries.

Another equally important determining factor of migration is the advent of technology. Ertekin and Dural (2013) mention that television has a far-reaching effect in influencing migration. It breaks the barriers between the remote rural areas and town, and most importantly, it breaks barriers between countries. Through television, people in low-income countries are able to gauge their living standards against those in high earning countries. Media therefore, constitutes another key determining factor of international migration. Another factor similar to the role of media, is what Ertekin and Dural (2013) call ‘globalisation of communication technology’. Through technology such as social media, and network effects such as the availability of friends and relatives in destination countries, people can easily share news between two or more countries, hence triggering international migration for those living in financially troubled countries.
Immigration policies constitute another factor that has a potential to promote or inhibit migration. While restrictive policies control the rate of migration flows, liberal kind of immigration policies promote high flows of migration.

Costs, according to Solimano (2004), is another determinant of migration. He observes that travel costs such as air ticket cost, shipping cost, accommodation and general living expenses can prevent the poor from migrating. On the other side, the wide spread of the modern means of transportation has rendered transportation costs to have been drastically reduced to the reach of many professional and skilled migrants. Cultural and linguistic differences, as mentioned earlier on, inform the decision about the choice of destinations immigrants would prefer to go for. As previously alluded to by Adsera and Pytlíková (2012), migrants are likely to move to countries with familiar widely spoken languages such as English, French and Portuguese. Such moves are cost effective, as expenses of transferring skills from the source to the destination countries are reduced drastically, due to the ability to speak a dominant country’s national language.

Geographical distance and proximity between the source and the intended destination countries is another determining factor of migration. Solimano (2004) observes that international migration to nearby countries is more common compared to those involving far away destination countries. This is so simply because of the traveling costs involved in such movements.

1.10 Types of migrants

Migrants, being heterogeneous groups, Castles (2018) categorises them into eight groups: temporary labour migrants (guest workers), highly skilled business migrants, irregular migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, forced migrants, family reunification migrants, and return migrants. The following is a brief description of each group:

a) Temporary labour migrants: These are foreign nationals who migrate for a certain limited period to work and send money at home.

b) Highly skilled migrants: These are professionals and technicians in rare skill areas who seek employment from the international labour market.
c) Irregular migrants: This type of migrants is also known as undocumented or illegal migrants who enter a country looking for opportunities without any legal documentations.

d) Refugees: People who flee from persecution in their countries on the basis of race, religion, political affiliation, membership to a particular social group, or any other sources of fear.

e) Asylum seekers: People who seek protection in other countries, and they may not meet the strict criteria of refugees.

f) Forced migrants: Besides refugees and asylum seekers, this category does also include those affected by various natural disasters. Kerswill (2006) makes mention of the Africans who were sent as slaves to the Caribbean by colonial masters as a clear example of forced migration in human history.

g) Family members or family reunification: These are people who migrate in order to reunite with their family members.

h) Return migrants: These are migrants who return to their respective countries of origin after spending some time in foreign countries.

The following section presents a historical overview of migration trends in South Africa. This is important as it highlights the background that gave rise to a rapid growth of African migration flows to the country.

1.11 Theoretical frameworks

This study has been approached and analysed in the light of Schumann’s (1986; 1978) Acculturation Model and frameworks. This model states that destination language acquisition depends mostly on the degree to which language acquirers or learners acculturate to the target language group. Acculturation entails friendliness with the target language group and integration L2 learners into the receiving society. Acculturation enhances contacts with the target language group, hence increasing opportunities for possible access to input necessary for language acquisition.
The Model outlines numerous social as well as psychological factors that influence destination language acquisition. The outlined social factors include patterns of social dominance, integration strategies, enclosures and others. Further to social factors, the model also presents several other affective factors that are also important for destination language acquisition. The affective factors are psychological factors that influence language acquisition by individuals, unlike social factors that may affect a group of language acquirers. Key among the affective factors is the motivation issue which has been categorised by Schumann into integrated and instrumental motivation. Both social and psychological factors of acculturation model will be expounded in the chapter under literature review.

The Acculturation frameworks are viewed to be relevant and useful to this study which involves attainment of isiZulu in a natural linguistic environment of the mainstream culture of its speakers in Johannesburg. Social and psychological factors of acculturation model are critical in determining the distance of the isiZulu acquirers from the native speakers. The Model will help to understand the extent to which Malawian and Nigerian immigrants relate to isiZulu speakers in Johannesburg. It will also aid the understanding of the attitudes of the two groupings toward isiZulu.

Besides Schumann’s (1986; 1978) Acculturation Model, Chiswick and Miller’s (2001) model of destination language acquisition, has also been of great inspiration to this research. The model lists three key factors that are crucial to destination language acquisition, and these are exposure to the target language, efficiency and the economic returns expected from investing in the target language. One of the most cited and debated aspects which arguably is said to enhance efficiency, is age on arrival. It is a widely held view that children learn language better than adults (Lenneberg, 1967). Since participants of this study are all adult immigrants, attempts were made in this study to unpack the debate about the effects of migrants’ age on destination language acquisition. Just like the Acculturation Model, a detailed account of Chiswick and Miller’s (2001) model of destination language acquisition has been presented in the subsequent chapter, under literature review.

1.12 An overview of the research design, population and methods
A research design, according to De Vaus (2001), is a conceptual structure within which a research work is carried out. A research design is an important element of the research. A relevant research design leads to the adoption of suitable research tools which, consequently allow for the collection of suitable data that can adequately address the research question. The study is descriptive, exploratory and explanatory in nature. It adopts an investigative position and explores many sources of information to uncover the area where little is known. It is a phenomenological research which seeks to explore and generate hypotheses by examining a set of data and try to look for relations between variables in the given set of data. With exploratory design, it is easy to make new discoveries as methods used are less restrictive in nature.

Further to being descriptive, exploratory and explanatory in nature, this study is also comparative. It compares Malawian immigrants' experiences in the acquisition of isiZulu in Johannesburg, with those of Nigerian immigrants. Comparison, according to Caramani (2008), is an integral part of people's daily life. He maintains that people think by comparing various things in the mind. He describes comparison as ‘… juxtaposition of values (units of variation) of attributes (properties) shared by two or more objects or cases (units of observation)’ [Caramani, 2008:2]. Further to his description, he defines comparison on the same page as:

... a method to analyse relationships between phenomena and their causal connections, that is, to test against empirical evidence alternative hypotheses on cause–effect relationships in the form of 'if . . . , then . . . ' statements. In addition to being an indispensable cognitive and descriptive tool, the comparative method is explanatory, a method to control variation.

The study adopts a qualitative research approach applauded by many scholars (such as Peshkin, 1998; Polkinghorne, 2005; Leedy and Ormrod, 2005) for being capable of generating an in-depth information about any intricate phenomenon. It is the best research approach for unearthing different perspectives of a phenomenon under investigation. Being qualitative, the study has been approached in light of the following principles:

a) That the study is naturalistic and interpretive in nature, with little or no predetermined frameworks of analysis at all.
b) That only qualitative methods of data collection can be used.

c) That the researcher has to keep a distance while analysing the data, despite playing an active role as a participant in the study.

d) That the study is idiographic in nature. That is, the type of study that aims at lobbying for the detailed account of information about the topic being studied (Luthans and Davis, 1982).

This study extracts its sample from the Malawian and Nigerian immigrant populations residing in various suburbs of Johannesburg. Only those immigrants working in the informal sector, or operating small informal businesses are purposely sampled as informants for the study. Most of the immigrants in South Africa work in the informal sector, and the two explanatory factors for that, are lack of proper documentations on the part of the immigrants and the low absorptive capacity of the formal economy for those who might have formalised and naturalised their stay. The choice of the informal sector was influenced by the fact that most black South Africans do also work there, hence increasing the likelihood of the immigrants being exposed to the language.

In addition to the printed sources, the study did also employ an interview method as another tool used for collecting its empirical data from the participants. Both men and women who entered South Africa at the age of 18 years or above, were interviewed. The age of 18 was intended to ensure that those interviewed are adults and not children. Interview method is regarded highly by many Patton, (1990) and Hinds (2000) as an ideal tool for data collection in qualitative study.

Two approaches were used to access the population of the research, and these are: consultation of the gatekeepers, who according to Bilger and Van Liempt (2009:125) ‘… include persons who are, due to their role in the political, economic or social life, in close contact with the target group on regular basis and therefore enjoy certain respect among them’. With regard to Nigerian population, authorities from the two Nigerian organisations were contacted to assist the researcher in accessing the
potential initial informants of the study. The two organisations consulted are the Nigerian Union of South Africa and the Nigerian Pastors Association of South Africa.

The second approach was to use individual personal contacts with both Nigerian and Malawian nationals to assist in identifying and accessing the initial informants for the study. Both the gatekeeper and personal contact approaches led to network sampling technique popularly known as snowball technique. This is a chain referral technique which, according to Noriah and Abu Yazid (2014), is good for selecting participants from various groups while upholding non-biased stance during the selection processes. It is a multi-stage technique that begins with one or few people or cases and stretches out, based on links from the initial cases, until it reaches its saturation point.

Data gathered for this study was analysed using thematic analysis method which, according to Braun and Clarke (2006), involves identifying and analysing patterns within the given data. Lacey and Luff (2001) comment that data analysis in qualitative study starts with the transcription of the oral interviews into text. It involves writing up a full account of each interview and, in the process of data transcription, names and other identifiable stuffs are removed from the transcripts and the interviewee is either assigned a fictitious name or a code number in order to conceal the hints and clues that could potentially lead to the discovery of one’s identity.

1.13 Structure of the study

This study consists of six chapters, and these are, orientation to the study, literature review, research methodology, data analysis and presentation, data discussion and finally, a chapter on conclusions, limitations and recommendations for future research.

**Chapter 1:** This chapter introduces the research by providing the background information to the study. It presents the context and research problem identification, research aims and objectives, research questions, the significance of the study, motivation for the study, definition of terms, theoretical frameworks, research design, population and methods, structure of the study and the conclusion.
Chapter 2: This chapter provides a detailed account of literature review on destination language acquisition in particular and second language acquisition in general. Literature review constitutes a solid foundation for any scientific research work. It provides the benchmark for the current research. It addresses the problematic issue of terminology surrounding the terms such as first, second and third language acquisition. As the study concerns the acquisition of isiZulu by adult immigrants, the chapter discusses and evaluates theories that attribute second or destination language acquisition to the effect of age.

Chapter 3: This chapter presents the research methodology. It takes a close look at qualitative research approach, exploratory research design, issues on sample selection, interview as a reliable instrument for data collection in qualitative research, issues of trustworthiness, reliability and analytical frameworks.

Chapter 4: This chapter is dedicated for the presentation of the transcribed thematically data collected through one-on-one interviews with participants. The chapter does not comment nor discuss the data, as such activities are done in another chapter dedicated for that.

Chapter 5: This chapter discusses the findings in accordance with the emerged themes, categories and subcategories. The chapter discusses the data at length, with the help of the reviewed literature and thereafter. The data is then subjected to the researcher’s interpretation which is backed by causes and effects emerging from the data itself. It is in this chapter where the findings from each of the two participating groups are evaluated and contrasted accordingly.

Chapter 6: This chapter provides a summary of the study. It commences with a restatement of the purpose of the research study, followed by a summary on theoretical frameworks, research questions, methodology and a recap of the main findings and conclusions. Additionally, it discusses the limitations of the study and proposes recommendations for future research. The chapter ends with an outline of the study’s implications for practice and the theoretical contributions in the field of destination or second language acquisition.
1.14 Summary

This chapter presented a general introduction of the study. It provided the aims and objectives of the research project, the research problem and the context under which the study is carried, an overview of the research design, population, methods for data collection and processing and the theoretical frameworks adopted by the study. Furthermore, the chapter outlined the significance of the study and the initial motivation that triggered it. Definitions of some key words have also been presented. The chapter ended with the presentation of the structure of the study.
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews and provides a comprehensive account of the current state of literature on destination and second language acquisition. The study investigates experiences of Malawian and Nigerian immigrants on their acquisition of isiZulu as the destination language in Johannesburg. Since the study focuses on immigrants, the chapter commences by presenting a brief historical background of migration trends in South Africa that led to an influx of African migrants into the country. This is followed by a discussion on second versus third language acquisition, destination language acquisition, acquisition versus learning, language socialisation, language as human capital, determinants of second language acquisition, acculturation model and second language learning strategies. The study draws much of its frameworks from Chiswick and Miller’s (2001) Model of destination language acquisition, as well as Schumann’s (1978 and 1986) Acculturation Model of the target language acquisition.

2.2 Migration trends in South Africa

Since the unbanning of the country’s national liberation movements and the commencement of the democratisation processes in the 1990s, South Africa has undergone major changes in patterns of migration (Posel 2004, Morris 2008, and Crush and William 2010). Labour migration was no longer a simple exercise of importing manageable and strictly controlled number of individuals from Southern African Development Community (SADC) region to work in the mines, as it used to be during the apartheid regime. Crush and William (2010) observe that although labour migration still exist up to today, the trend has become more dynamic and multifaceted than what it used to be during the apartheid rule. The period before the 1990 was symbolised by two patterns of migration and one of these is what Crush and William (2010: 4) call ‘in-migration’ of the white immigrants mainly from Europe and temporary migration of African contracted migrant workers from the SADC region.
Apartheid immigration legislations were soft, accommodative and humane for the white migrants, and at the same time they were harsh and prohibitive to African migrants. According to Posel (2004), even the few documented temporary African migrant mine workers, the labour policy of the time required that they should be repatriated to their respective countries at least once in every two years and would renew their contracts whenever they are needed again. Internal labour migration for black South Africans too, was not spared of harsh terms and conditions. Blacks were not allowed to be accompanied by their spouses and family members in their work places, nor were they permitted to settle in the urban areas.

Crush and William (2010) further note that the period since 1990 had seen a rise in the total number of people entering South Africa both legally and illegally. This was due to the weakening of the white minority rule and its eventual demise in the year 1994. In trying to end the migrant labour system, the newly elected democratic government under the Africa National Congress (ANC), granted mine workers, from the neighboring states in the SADC region, permanent residence. The aim was that they should willingly come out of the labour migrant system and settle in South Africa permanently. Surprisingly, as Crush and William (2010) report, only 50% of the eligible candidates accepted the offer.

According to Crush and William (2010), statistics of legal entrants into South Africa rose from one million in 1990 to 5.1 million in the year 1996, and the number further rose to 9 million in 2008. Of the total figure of 9 million entrants, the larger number was for African migrants whose figure rose from less than a million in 1990 to 3.8 million in 1996 and 7.4 million in 2008.

It is difficult to determine the number of labour migrants working illegally in any country, as such migrant laborers feel uncomfortable in disclosing their status to immigration officials, researchers and those involved in taking census. Even though the cited figures of irregular migrants by the media cannot be substantiated, it is an undeniable fact that irregular labour migration has lately increased tremendously, hence; constituting a major challenge for countries in the SADC region. Crush and William (2010) observe that Botswana and South Africa are the two countries in the SADC region that are challenged with the swelling numbers of irregular migrant
workers. They attribute such influx of undocumented labour migrants to economic and political crisis that rocked Zimbabwe in the past two decades due to land transfer exercise the country underwent.

Crush and William (2010) remark that labour migrants from Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia who used to work in commercial farms in Zimbabwe, were no longer to do so as most of the expropriated farms were lying idle without any meaningful agricultural activities taking place in those farms. The situation therefore, forced such labour migrants and of course Zimbabweans themselves to look for new destinations in search of greener pastures. South Africa and Botswana therefore, became victims of the circumstances in Zimbabwe. Of course, this cannot be the only reason, since not only farm workers are entering South Africa in recent years.

Malawi has a long history of labour migration to South Africa since the 1960s. It is among the SADC states that participated in the temporary labour mine migration system championed by the Apartheid regime in South Africa. According to Chirwa (1998) the climax of recruitment of Malawian mine workers was in 1973, when the total number of Malawian mine workers rose to 119,111. Malawi continued to export mine workers until the period between 1988 and 1992, when 13 000 Malawian mine migrants were repatriated from South Africa, simply because 200 of them tested positive with HIV/AIDS. The South African Chamber of Mines asked the Malawian Government to screen all potential mine workers before they left for South Africa. However, the Malawian government turned down the request as it considered a compulsory testing an unethical thing to do. In retaliation, the South African Chamber of Commerce stopped recruiting mine workers from Malawi.

The birth of the democratic South Africa under the African National Congress (ANC) in 1994, has seen Malawian nationals entering the country in large numbers, as it is the case with many other African foreign nationals.

As for the Nigerian immigrants, Morris (1998) observes that one of the notable changes in patterns of migration trends in post-1990 period in South Africa, has been that of an increase in the population number of immigrants from North Africa, particularly the Democratic Republic of Congo and Nigeria. Morris (1998) notes that although there is no official statistics for Nigerian nationals in the country, the period
between 1994 and 1997 saw a total of 2,862 Nigerians applying for asylum in South Africa. The number does not include irregular Nigerian migrants who entered the country during this period.

According to Morris (1998), there is no census on illegal immigrants in South Africa, and therefore, no one knows exactly how many irregular immigrants are there in the country. As for the legal migrants, the 2011 Statistics reports that 1,692,242 of people counted during the 2011 Census were non-South African citizens, representing 3.3% of the total population. Gauteng province had the highest number of immigrants' concentration of 883,647 people, and making 7.4% of the total immigrant population.

2.3 Second versus third language acquisition

Technically, second language acquisition refers to:

… the study of individuals and groups who are learning a language subsequent to learning their first one as young children, and to the process of learning that language. The additional language is called a second language (L2), even though it may actually be the third, fourth, or tenth to be acquired.

(Saville-Troike, 2012)

The biased nature of terminology, be it in the first or second language (L2), has been questioned by many (Fardon and Fumiss, 1994; Jorda, 2005; Hammarberg, 2010; Ortega, 2013; Saville-Troike and Bartok, 2016) in the discipline of language acquisition. They condemn that terms in this area of linguistics appear to be biased toward the monolingual context of the few western countries. Ortega (2013) cites an example of the term First-language (L1), which refers to a language in case of monolingual acquisition, while most children in many parts of the world, e.g. Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia, grow up acquiring and speaking two or more languages simultaneously. It is this bias that leads to thinking that everyone learning a language other than one's mother tongue must be learning a second language. Scholars further observe that the monolingual prejudice in language acquisition, has even contributed to the tendency whereby native-like proficiency is defined in view of monolingual person's proficiency in the target language. Jorda (2005) comments that second language learner's proficiency in the target language was supposed to be
evaluated based on whether or not one is able to meet the varying demands for communicative needs. Proficiency, according to him, should not be looked from the glasses of the monolingual pronunciation, but rather; from language use competency in various linguistic situations encountered by the second language learner.

In an attempt to rectify the terminological bias, specifically the one associated with the term ‘second language’, its definition has been extended beyond the literal meaning of ‘second’ to include any language obtained after the mother tongue. With this extension, even third, fourth languages and so on, can as well be referred to as second language. Hammarberg (2010: 92) comments:

> In dealing with the acquisition of languages after the first, it has become clear that the language being learned is often not the learner’s first non-native language. The more general concept is one that covers situations where learners have prior knowledge of one or more other languages than the one currently being used or learned. In the terminology that has become established as conventional standard usage, second language (L2) has come to refer to any language acquired after the first language (L1).

The source of terminological ambiguities associated with terms such as first and second language, according to Hammarberg (2010), is the linear model, which involves the tendency of numbering the acquired languages chronologically in accordance to the times of their first encounter, e.g. first, second, third and so forth. This order is equivalent to terms such as monolingual, bilingual, trilingual and so on. According to Hammarberg (2010), it is not possible to order languages of a multilingual speaker along the linear time scale, this is due to intricacies associated with multilingualism which include cases of simultaneous acquisition, partial acquisition and differences in types of competences involved. He argues that it might not be clear under what criteria one language would be included or excluded from the linear time scale in the multilingual situations above.

While the extended definition of second language seems to solve the problem of linearity in language acquisition, others (Jorda, 2005; Leaver, Ehrman, and Shekhtman, 2005; Hammarberg 2010) argue that the extension creates another problem, as it ignores the difference between a case of acquiring a non-native language for the first time in one’s life and the case whereby one has already
obtained more than one non-native languages. It also disregards the individual experiences and the influences such experiences may have on the process of acquiring further languages later in life. These scholars contend that the two experiences should not be treated equally, and therefore call for a third language (L3) category to designate acquisition or learning of a second non-native language and subsequent additional languages. With L3 category, third, fourth, fifth languages and so on; cease to be classified under second language.

Hammarberg (2010) argues that multilingualism is a dominant form of linguistic competency and therefore, it should not be subsumed into the minority concept of monolingualism. Terms must be coined befitting the status of multilingualism as a frequent form of linguistic competence among the world’s larger population.

Among the advantages realised from learning a third language, according to Leaver et al. (2005), is that it can be related or close to the already acquired languages in terms of grammar and similarities in sound or root vocabularies hence, being on the advantage side of attaining an instant familiarity of the linguistic items involved. Even when there are no or little similarities, third language acquirers will still enjoy some advantages as they are likely to have already acquired some strategies to use in language acquisition.

Cenoz (2013), is another linguistic scholar calling for the establishment of L3 as an independent area of language acquisition. In her article, ‘The influence of bilingualism on third language acquisition’, She bemoans the fact that differences between second language acquisition and third language acquisition have not received much attention from researchers. She vehemently argues that when learning a third language, learners are influenced by the prior knowledge and experiences of their first and second languages. This is not the case with the second language learners, as they are influenced only by their first language (mother tongue). She likens the experiences of learning the L1, L2 and L3 to that of walking, driving a car and being confronted with a challenging task of having to drive a bus. She reasons that the one who has a prior experience of having driven a car, is most likely to have an added advantage when learning to drive a bus than the one who has never driven a car. It is on this light that she feels the field of second language
acquisition (SLA) is being unfair in treating any non-native language as second. Furthermore, Cenoz (2013) cites context as another reason that differentiates second language acquisition from third language acquisition. Language can be acquired in different contexts. It can be learned as a subject in school, as a medium of instruction in school, or as dominant language of the community. This being the case, a third language learner is most likely to have been exposed to different context of language learning. Again, this experience gives him/her a further advantage over a second language learner.

Although Cenoz’s (2013) argument sounds plausible, the problematic aspect of her L3 campaign is when she chronologically refers to L3 as third in the order of acquisition. This seems to deter the progress made so far, with regard to scholars’, attempts in trying to resolve the terminological dilemma of linearity facing second language acquisition, as discussed earlier on in this section. Perhaps, the most cautious position could be that taken by Jorda, 2005; Leaver et al. 2005; Hammarberg, 2010) earlier in this section, suggesting that L3 should refer to a second and further non-native languages.

To sum up, it appears like advocates of Third Language Acquisition category, unanimously agree in their argument that the basis for Cross-linguistic influence between second and third languages is different. Learners of the first non-native language (L2) can only be influenced by their first language, whereas, those of L3 could be influenced by two or more prior languages. Hammarberg (2010) further argues that while conditions for learning first, second and third languages are different, there are no robust differences in conditions for learning additional languages after the third language.

The study at hand fits well in the category of third language acquisition, since its participants come from multilingual countries, and are most likely to have already acquired knowledge of one or more other African languages, in addition to European languages, from their origin countries. However, the term has not been incorporated into the title of this study to avoid misunderstandings. Just like ‘second language’, the term ‘third language’ is also prone to be misunderstood as third in chronological
order of acquisition. The researcher has, instead, used the neutral term ‘destination language’, despite drawing from second language acquisition.

2.4 Destination language acquisition

One of the challenges that arise from migration is the need on the part of the migrants, to acquire a destination language for those who may not have one before leaving their home countries. This has never been an easy experience for many immigrants in the world. Loewen (2004) argues that although language is not the only problem facing immigrants in their new host societies, it is an important tool for determining an overall success of the immigrants’ adaptation to the host societies. Scholars (Mesch 2003; Becker 2007) note that proficiency in the dominant destination language is an important qualification for the incomers’ integration into societies of the receiving countries. Friendship with local citizens and native speakers of the target language is one of the priorities most new arrivals would like to achieve in their early days of stay in a foreign country. Esser (2006) remarks that language can be used as a tool of discrimination against foreign nationals, as it will be highlighted in the subsequent sections. Before presenting an overview of literature and the main theories relating to second or destination language acquisition, it is appropriate to first present the terminological debate on acquisition versus learning in the following section.

2.5 Acquisition versus learning

There has been an ongoing debate between scholars who attribute the bulk of second language acquisition to subconscious processes and those who largely view language learning as a conscious process, depending on what it is meant by ‘conscious’ as it will be clarified in the subsequent paragraphs of this section.

Krashen, (1976, 1981, 1982, and 2013); Terrel (1977) and Krashen, Long and Scarcella (1979) make distinction between acquisition and learning. They view learning as a process of attempting to attain language skills formally as is in a tutored classroom environment, whereas acquisition is associated to attaining language skills in naturalistic linguistic environments without formal tuition. These
scholars view learning as a deliberate and conscious process that involves a scholarly understanding and usage of grammar in a language. In contrast, acquisition is seen as an unconscious process whereby acquirers attain and use aspects of language including grammar without necessarily noticing them or being able to describe them. Krashen (1981 and 1982) is of the view that acquisition proceeds in the same manner and processes in which children acquire their first language.

Krashen’s acquisition – learning distinction theory, postulates that adults have two distinct ways of developing competence in a language other than the mother tongue and that the ability to acquire additional languages does not cease at puberty as suggested by Lenneberg (1967). The two ways are those that have been contrasted above; and these are language acquisition and language learning. Despite not confirming Krashen’s (1981 and 1982) assertion that adults have two different ways of acquiring competency in a target language, Gullberg, Robert, Dimroth, Veroude and Indefrey (2010) generally seem to agree with Krashen that adults possess superb abilities of acquiring a second language. Adults, according to Gullberg et al. (2010), are capable of segregating word form from other information, meaning from the context and that they are able to generalise and apply the rule beyond a given set of data. They further state that even in the absence of prior knowledge, adults are able to handle and deal with a given linguistic data efficiently. Gullberg et al. (Op cit.) however, fall short of explaining what it is exactly in adults that enables them to process complex language data and be able to identify the meaning, discriminate word forms and generalise the patterns beyond a given set of data. Perhaps this can best be explained in light of Gass and Selinker’s (1994) apperceived input with its various mediating factors as discussed later in this section.

According to Krashen’s (1981 and 1982) Monitor Model, it is the acquisition that initiates production in the target language and that the learned system is there only to monitor and guide judgements of the subconscious system about the correctness of its output. The Monitor, which is the learned system, can alter the output before or after the utterance has been produced. Acquisition, as stated by Krashen (1981 and 1982), is responsible for most second language acquisition (SLA) in all the contexts. The Monitor Model calls for the natural approach in language teaching and learning.
It argues that language learning and teaching should focus on the message and not the form, and that the message should contain comprehensible input which accounts for the acquisition of the target language. The best way to teach language according to Krashen (1981 and 1982) is to make comprehensible input available to learners through natural communicative approaches. Through his input hypothesis, Krashen (Op cit.) argues that language is acquired by going for the meaning and not form. Fluency, according to Krashen, cannot be taught directly, but it emerges on its own over a period of time. He argues that classroom language learning environment forces learners to perform in the target language before they are ready for it. He further argues that readiness in the target language performance comes at different times for different people, hence; tutored learners should not be pushed to speak before they are fully equipped with what it takes to initiate speech in the target language.

Krashen (1981 and 1982) substantiates his argument about the relevance of comprehensible input and the limited role of form-focused classroom language learning, with evidence from first language acquisition in infancy, adult second or foreign language acquisition, and even acculturation model. The researcher, in this section, briefly presents Krashen’s set of evidence from first language acquisition and second language acquisition. The researcher will delay the evidence induced from Schumann’s (1986 and 1978) acculturation model to be presented in the section designated for acculturation model as the whole.

The evidence from first language acquisition is manifested in the concept of ‘caretaker speech’. According to an online Oxford Learner’s Dictionary, Caretaker speech, is a noun that refers to ‘a simple way of speaking that is used when talking to a child or other person who is learning to speak a language’. Krashen (1981 and 1982) argues that language modifications which parents and baby seaters make are aimed to facilitate comprehensible input to children. According to him, the caretaker speech is roughly-adjusted in accordance to the current linguistic level of the child. It focuses on what the child can perceive and relate to in his or her immediate environment. The ‘here and now’ principle, which characterises the caretaker speech, is said to have a positive impact in helping the child to understand the message that contains new lexical items (input) important for the language
acquisition. It does not focus on form nor structure, but on delivering the intended message to the child.

*Foreigner-talk* is another simplified version of language prevalent in naturalistic environments of second language acquisition, which Krashen (1981 and 1982) uses to substantiate his argument about the importance of acquisition over learning. He argues that in foreigner talk, native speakers modify and try to simplify their language in order to be understood by less competent and non-native speakers of their language. They may use exaggerated gestures in order to make their input comprehensible. The modified version does not pay attention to form and structure. It just ensures that input is understood by the non-natives.

Gass and Selinker (1994) appear to complement Krashen’s (1981 and 1982) studies that emphasize on highlighting the importance and the direct role of comprehensible input on language acquisition. They mention that for one to be able to understand second language Acquisition, one must first try to find out what it is that is learned or not. They provide 5 stages through which second language acquisition proceeds, and these are apperceived input, comprehended input, intake, integration and output. Details for each stage of acquisition are provided below.

Gass and Selinker (1994:298) define apperceived input as:

... the process of understanding by which newly observed qualities of an object are related to past experiences. In other words, past experiences to the selection of what might be called noticed material. Apperception is an internal cognitive act, identifying a linguistic form as being related to some prior knowledge. We can think of apperception as a priming device that tells us which parameters to attend to in analysing second language acquisition data.

*Apperception*, therefore, is the preliminary noticing of some linguistic materials from the second language data by an L2 learner. It prepares the input for a further improved analysis of the material. For apperception to be effected, Gass and Selinker (1994) note that there are four mediating factors that come into play, and these are frequency, affect, associations and prior knowledge, and attention. Gass and Selinker contend that when certain linguistic material is frequent in the data, it is most likely that such material would be noticed by L2 learner. Conversely, for advanced learners, when certain material is rare, it also draws their attention and it is
much likely to be noticed. *Affect* is the second factor that influences apperception. Affect is comprised of various factors such as attitude, motivation and the social distance. The second mediating factor for apperception, is associations and the prior knowledge. Gass and Selinker (1994) maintain that learning involves a combination of new with previously acquired knowledge. The final mediating factor of apperception is *attention*. To be able to notice, learners must be attentive.

The second phase of acquisition, according to Gass and Selinker (1994), is the *comprehended input*. The two authors comment that it is the apperception and its mediating factors that influence comprehension of the input. They, however, draw a distinction line between the terms ‘comprehended’ and ‘the comprehensible input’, suggesting that the former is controlled by learners themselves while the latter is controlled by interlocutors or language teachers who must ensure that the provided input is comprehensible to them. Despite agreeing with Krashen (1981 and 1982) on the significance of the comprehensible input, Gass and Selinker (1994) punch a hole into Krashen’s concept of comprehensible input. They observe that Krashen’s comprehensible input is understood in a simplistic way as a single dimensional phenomenon, while in a true sense it is not. The notion of Comprehensible input, according to Gass and Selinker (1994, is multifaceted and complex in nature. It includes comprehension of both structures and the meaning, and that, it is possible for one person to comprehend the structure and another person may comprehend the meaning.

*Intake* is the third stage of acquisition. Gass and Selinker (1994) differentiate between intake and the input. They describe intake as a permanently acquired linguistic material, while input as a temporal material acquired for the immediate use in the conversation at hand. They argue that it is the intensity of analysis that determines a category under which the acquired or learned material would fall. Analysis at the level of meaning would yield input, while analysis at the level of structure would result in intake. They further contend that the time factor also, has the potential to determine the kind of linguistic material that could be realised from a particular linguistic encounter. For instance, an L2 learner who is undergoing the pressure to manage a conversation at hand, may not be able to analyse a given data beyond the input. The fourth stage is *integration*, and this is where the new linguistic
material is integrated into the learners’ system. The final stage is that of output and production.

Krashen’s Monitor Model confines the usefulness of the consciously attained knowledge to limited spaces of rule-governed areas of the target language. As previously alluded to, the learned system is not available for immediate use, but rather comes at a later stage when the language learner feels a need to alter an utterance. Krashen (1981 and 1982) outlines three necessary conditions for the target language learner to be able to use consciously attained competency in the target language performance. These are time, focus on the form rather than meaning and lastly, knowledge of the rule to be applied. He observes that time may not be readily available in normal conversation where one is expected to listen and speak instantly. Focusing on form may also affect the flow of message in natural conversation and would lead to an interrupted kind of communication.

According to Krashen (1981 and 1982), it is only the optimal user of monitor who is able to use it accurately without affecting the free flowing of the conversation. He argues that the optimal user may not use grammar in the ordinary conversation but may see it fit to use it in writing and prepared speeches only. Monitor over-users will use their consciously acquired grammar when using the target language and this affects the conversation. He argues that monitor over-using tendency emanates from lack of acquisition as is the case with language learners trained in foreign language classrooms only; with no access to the target language outside the classroom environment.

Krashen (1981 and 1982) notes that the best among the monitor users are the Monitor under-users. These are the people who are not influenced by the consciously obtained knowledge of grammar. They do not use conscious grammar at all in their target language performance. They use the grammaticality judgement of their subconsciously acquired system and not conscious grammar. He observes that the under-users are likely to be residing in a country where the target language is the dominant one. If not, they are likely to have had an intensive exposure to the target language.
Monitoring, according to Kormos (2006), is part of a problem-solving strategy on the side of an L2 learner. As the learner realises that the intended utterances may not be completed, he/she replaces them with alternative strings of utterances that can flow without errors. Besides limitation in an L2 competency as the reason for the tendency of monitoring, Levelt (1983) cites two further reasons that contribute to the phenomenon, and these are: late realisation that the content of the intended message needs to be reorganised in a certain way and the realisation that the message might be unsuitable, hence the need to modify it accordingly. The former is called ‘different information repair’ and the latter is known as ‘Appropriacy repair’.

While Krashen’s distinction between acquisition versus learning and conscious versus unconscious, and the explanations given under each of these notions may sound plausible to many, some scholars (McLaughlin, 1990; Schmidt, 1990; Robinson, 1996; Long 1998) find them to be problematic and unfairly dismissive of the important role played by the classroom form focused language learning and teaching.

In criticizing Krashen’s Monitor Model, Long (1998) charges that it is wrong for any theory or program of language acquisition to assume that it has all the necessary and sufficient features it takes for successful language learning, and that its effectiveness would therefore be guaranteed based on such self-claimed assumptions. He equates Krashen’s acquisition-learning model to one’s assumption that if trees can grow in the desert, then there should be no need for watering those in one’s garden. This is perhaps to say that although naturalistic language acquisition is important, classroom language learning is equally important as it also has a role to play in facilitating language learning and that its role cannot be reduced to a mere monitor. Instruction, according to Long (1998), simplifies learning tasks and enhances the rate of acquisition. He argues that theory will remain theory and that; in no way it could constitute the basis for language learning and teaching.

Further to his argument, Long (1998) observes that there are different processes of acquisition in naturalistic second language acquisition owing to different contexts that include linguistic environment and linguistic similarly. The very same contextual variations account for the classroom language learning. In other words, whatever
affects naturalistic language learning, does also affect tutored language learning. He cites processes such as transfer, overgeneralisation, pidginisation, creolisation and others prevalent in various situations of language contact. He argues that irrespective of differences among teaching methods, teaching materials and syllabuses in second language teaching, there are two broader options available in each one of them. These are, firstly, options tailored to ensure learners have access to input and, secondly, options relating to production or performance tasks set for learners. Long (1998) therefore, contends that instruction, just like acquisition, is likely to trigger processes such as transfer, overgeneralisation and others, depending on the teachers’ options.

McLaughlin (1990) is among the scholars who have emphatically criticized Krashen’s distinction of acquisition from learning. According to McLaughlin, the distinction between acquisition and learning assumes that differentiation between ‘conscious’ and ‘unconscious’ is a possible task, and this is not the case. He argues that it is difficult to tell whether a language learner is operating on the basis of the acquired system or learned system. He therefore argues for the differentiation between controlled and automatic processes of the target language acquisition and calls for the abandonment of the use of the terms ‘conscious’ and ‘unconscious’ in language acquisition, as the two are difficult to define and cannot be proven empirically. Controlled and automatic processes, according to McLaughlin (1990:621), concern the extent to which ‘… the skills in question have been routinized and established in the long-term memory’. He is of the view that the role of unconsciousness in second language has been overstated and calls for the use of specific and more defined contrast of one’s interest than the use of the blanket terms.

Contrary to the monitor model that attributes the bulk of second language performance to unconscious processes, Schmidt (1990) is of the view that language learning, in both instructed and uninstructed contexts, is largely a conscious phenomenon. He, however, does not deny the role of unconscious processes. He observes that it is the ambiguous use of the term conscious that lead to differences of opinion among the scholars. The term conscious, according to Schmidt (1990), has several meanings and these include, consciousness as awareness, intention and knowledge. Under awareness comes perception, which involves mental
organisation and imaginations of external occurrences. Awareness does also involve noticing, which leads to the understanding of something being noticed. All these are mental activities, hence; attributing the bulk of language performance to conscious processes.

Schmidt (1990) therefore argues that if conscious refers to awareness at the level of noticing, then unconscious learning therefore would mean picking up some aspects of language without necessarily noticing them. He wonders if it is possible to learn aspects of a second language without noticing them. Schmidt (1990) further contends that if conscious / unconscious is contrasted on the basis of awareness at the level of understanding, then conscious would mean attaining principles and rules of a language through insights, while unconscious would refer to unconscious induction of such rules and principles. Here again, he wonders if second language learners can acquire rules without any conscious understanding of such rules. According to Schmidt (1990), conscious learning can also refer to intention at the level of planning, involving intentional learning strategies, while unconscious, with this understanding would refer to accidental results from communicative interaction. But Schmidt further argues that, even with unintended communicative interaction, acquisition will still involve noticing and understanding, since it is only after noticing that input becomes intake.

As alluded to by Schmidt (1990), one of the causative agents of the long and heated debate about conscious and unconscious processes in language acquisition is the vagueness of the terms as outlined in the preceding paragraphs of this section. The ambiguity of the terms has indeed led to differences in word preferences between the scholars. Looking at both Krashen’s monitor model and the suggested conscious and unconscious processes, and McLaughlin’s (1990) controlled and automatic processes, it becomes clear that the characteristics and attributes associated with the two sets of processes, named differently by the two scholars, are the same. For example, the unconscious / automatic process on the one hand, is said to be faster, linked to the long-term memory, and is not available to consciousness, while the conscious / controlled process on the other hand, is known to be slow, linked to short-term memory and requires attention. It appears as if scholars fell into this terminological crisis when trying to account for the main attributes of the two
processes. Krashen (1981 and 1982) in this case, attributes the slowness and an interrupted nature of second language learners’ performance to consciousness, as he saw it fit to attribute the opposite of these qualities to unconscious process, which he allude to be associated with acquisition in natural linguistic environment. Likewise, McLaughlin (1990) attributes the free flowing of second language learners’ performance to automaticity and describes the opposite and slow process of language production as ‘controlled’.

Kormos (2006) appears to agree with Schmidt’s (1990) argument that second language acquisition is largely a conscious phenomenon, and that an L2 speech production requires some efforts and attention on the part of a learner, resulting in a slowed speed of production. The L2 scenario, according to Kormos (2006), is different from that of L1 acquired effortlessly and without conscious. She attributes the difference to insufficient knowledge of L2 on the part of L2 learner, intentional effort of trying to quell the cross-linguistic influence of L1 into L2 production, and monitoring. She contends that L1 and L2 speech productions proceed at different degrees of automaticity. In L1, production is highly automatised as various linguistic aspects of different domains of language use have been fully internalised on the part of a grown-up mother tongue speaker. This may not be the case in L2 speech production by a beginner learner.

Perhaps the safest position is that taken by Schmidt (1990), that language learning or acquisition cannot take place without consciousness as awareness, particularly awareness at the level of noticing and understanding, for it is only after noticing and understanding that input becomes intake. Although Schmidt (1990) admits that incidental learning is possible, he sees it as an outcome of a gradual accumulation of frequently occurring linguistic features and not unconscious induction of rules. Regardless of the criticism against the monitor model, Krashen’s acquisition-learning distinction is still important for the differentiation between the two contexts of language learning.

2.6 Language socialisation
As alluded to in the introductory section of this chapter, destination language is an important and effective tool used by immigrants in their integration processes into various receiving societies. Atkinson (2002: 526) comments:

… language is a social practice, a social accomplishment, a social tool. People use language in and on their social worlds: to convey, construct, and perform, among other things, ideas, feelings, actions, identities and simple (but crucial) passing acknowledgements of the existence of other human beings.

Adamuti-Trache (2012:103) also notes that:

… social and civil integration of migrant populations depend on various individual and contextual factors, but a critical ingredient of newcomers’ active participation in the host society are their language skills.

Although most literature on destination language acquisition (Chiswick and Miller, 1994; Beiser and Hou, 2000; Pendakur and Pendakur, 2002; Mesch 2003; Wheatley-Price and Shields, 2002; Chiswick 2008; Van Tubergen and Wierenga, 2011) focus on the importance of dominant destination language in aiding access to economic gains of the immigrants, the social and non-economic elements of social integration, as noted by Nawyn, Gjokaj, Agbenyiga and Grace (2012), are equally important. The inability to converse in the dominant destination language on the part of immigrants, makes them vulnerable to isolation from the host communities and, at the same time, the tendency results in the feeling of inferiority to the proficient speakers of the target language. Nawyn et al. (2012) comment that migration researchers have not paid much attention to the relationship between destination language proficiency and the migrants’ sense of belonging and exclusion. No doubt that most immigrants would want to be part and parcel of their receiving societies and the best way to achieve this, is the use of the dominant language in their daily conversations and charts with members of the host communities.

In addition to the economic challenges they encounter, immigrants do also face challenges of lack of access to information relating to basic services, access to various social institutions; including how to gain access to hospital and arrange an appointment with doctors when they fall sick in the new society. Due to their inability to speak the destination language, they are not able to articulate their needs and desires to service providers, a situation which leads to frustrations and worries about
their own future in the new society. Adamuti-Trache (2012) therefore, argues that the role of destination language should not be limited to monetary gains only, as the target language is also critical to social, cultural and civic integration of the immigrants, particularly those who are outside the labour force, like spouses, dependants and those with refugee status.

In their article, ‘Push and Pull factors influencing the learning of destination languages by immigrants’, Wildsmith-Cromarty and Condua (2015) explain that immigrants in the South African context, are confused between whether to choose learning English for economic gains or local indigenous languages for social integration into the mainstream community. This is because of the multilingual nature of the country, which contributes to immigrants’ dilemma in the choice of an appropriate destination language for them. Similar sentiments are expressed by Dekoke (2016) when he notes that there has been changes recently in the patterns of migration which include migration from one multilingual country to another, unlike the previous trend whereby African immigrants mostly used to migrate to monolingual countries and were expected to encounter just one language. According to Dekoke (2016), changes in patterns of migration have contributed to setting of specific functions for different destination languages and at the same time, have made them compete for dominance.

Wildsmith-Cromarty and Condua (2015) explain that the inability by African immigrants to communicate in the local South African indigenous languages, subjects them to various xenophobic attacks from the natives. Immigrants, according to them, may choose to use English for the professional career within their work establishment and, at the same time, use indigenous languages for social interaction with the wider speech community out of work environment. Wildsmith-Cromarty and Condua (2015) consider attitude by the local communities of expecting African immigrants to be able to communicate in native languages as a ‘pull’ factor. They define ‘pull’ factors as the appealing conditions in the host society and attitudes of members of the host community towards immigrants. Whereas, ‘Push’ factors refer to those unfavourable conditions in the country of origin and immigrants’ personal lives. While discussing the data for one of their participants, Wildsmith-Cromarty and Condua (2015) narrate the story of one businessman who regarded the status of
isiZulu in Johannesburg and in the country at large, as a pull factor that lured him to acquire the language. He also considered the Central Business District of Johannesburg, where his business is housed, as another triggering factor, since most of his buyers were speakers of isiZulu.

2.7 Language as Human Capital

Scholars (such as Chiswick, 2008; Van Tubergen and Wierenga, 2011; Adamuti-Trache, 2012; Dekoke, 2016;) state that proficiency in the destination language is an important instrument for the economic assimilation of the immigrants in their new host societies. In addition to their levels of education and other acquired manual skills, immigrants require competency in the use of a dominant destination language for them to be able to translate their previously acquired knowledge into the host society’s labour market. Inability to speak the dominant destination languages would render immigrants’ home acquired skills irrelevant and ineffective in the host communities. An Expanded Human Capital Model, as proposed by Mesch (2003), regards immigrants’ proficiency in the destination language as a form of investment aimed at improving their economic opportunities in their receiving societies. Scholars therefore, differentiate between home based human capital and the human capital specific to the host country which is created by the need for immigrants to transfer their home-based skills into spaces of the host economy.

According to Chiswick (2008), language is a form of investment made in anticipation for future benefits such as higher salaries, low cost of consumption and other economic gains associated with mastery of a dominant destination language. Chiswick (2008) mentions that language qualifies to be a form of human capital as it meets the three human capital requirements which are productivity, cost and is embedded in person. This being the case, anything that is productive has a cost for it to be produced and acquired and is embedded in a person; is human capital. Proficiency in the target language leads to economic gains in the labour market of the destination, as a fluent migrant speaker of the target language finds it easy to search for a job, negotiate prices of commodities and possess ability to look for quality goods and services at reasonable prices. Chiswick (2008) further remarks that the knowledge of the destination language is important because it makes other
forms of human capital productive in the host society. Additionally, investment in other forms of human capital specific to the host country, requires knowledge of a destination language.

Dustmann and Fabbri (2003) comment that most immigrants enter their destination countries with skills of limited use in the economy of the receiving country, and this subjects them to the low earnings in the host labour market. Migration, as noted by Adamuti-Trache (2012), involves transferring of home-based human capital and acquisition of further skills related to the economy of the host country. Destination language is an important component of the host countries’ human capital, as it is uniquely connected to the host economy and may not be transferable to the migrant’s home economy. Destination language is a requirement even for unskilled occupations of the host economy. As previously alluded to, the decision to choose which language to learn has not been easy for many migrants in multilingual destinations. In addition to native languages, some destination countries have also incorporated the use of other international languages among official languages of their countries. According to Chiswick and Miller (1994), immigrants prefer to learn a language closer to their mother tongue and which dominates the region of residence. The chosen language also often enjoys wider use in the local labour market of the host country.

Immigrants, just like any other language learners, vary in the levels of destination language acquisition. De Voretz and Werner (2000) remark that unskilled immigrants are most likely not to exceed the level of oral skill. This is because further skills of writing and reading might not be of any use and benefit to them, all they might need is to be able to communicate.

South Africa, being a multilingual destination for African multilingual immigrants, as observed by Dekoke (2016), is a practical example of countries where migrants are in the dilemma of choosing which language to learn. Professional migrants face a need to learn English for their professional jobs and at the same time, they feel a need to learn native languages for socialisation within and outside work environments. As for unskilled migrants, who are the majority participants in this
study, their linguistic needs might be slightly different from that of the professionals, however, we leave it to be revealed by the empirical data of this study.

2.8 Determinants of destination language acquisition

The Model of destination language acquisition of Chiswick and Miller (2001), is based on the principle that language is a form of human capital, hence, acquisition of its skills is an investment in human capital as discussed above. In this Model, Chiswick and Miller (2001) outline three main factors that account for the destination language acquisition, and these are exposure, economic incentives and efficiency. The three are presented below.

2.8.1 Exposure

Chiswick and Miller (2001: 256) define language exposure as

... the learning-by-doing and the formal instruction aspects of acquiring fluency in the destination language. It includes, the extent to which others, whether in person or through the media, use the language in one's presence and the extent to which the person himself or herself utilises the language.

Exposure, according to Chiswick (2008), and Chiswick and Miller (2001), is responsible for most language acquisition among immigrants. Exposure can take place in the origin country; before migration or in the host country after migration. For English-speaking destinations, immigrants from former British colonies are likely to have been exposed to English in their respective countries before migration. Exposure can take place through schooling, colleagues, children, neighbours, television, radio or newspapers. The duration of stay and the intensity of exposure, according to Chiswick and Miller (2001), have a positive impact on increasing destination language proficiency. They maintain that long stay increases the amount of exposure to the target language, as an acquirer would have enough time to practice using the destination language. They further allude that immigrants who are expected to return to their home countries are less proficient in the target language than permanent immigrants. The intensity of exposure involves immigrants living in the area dominated by the natives, as it involves the opportunity to use the target language at a family level. It is through exposure and interaction with the target
language group that immigrants are accorded an opportunity to comprehend and obtain the input required for language acquisition.

While applauding the role of exposure in destination language acquisition, Becker (2007) points out that exposure alone is not enough to achieve proficiency in the target language, if learners themselves are not ready to turn language input opportunities that come with exposure into intake. He argues that determinants of language acquisition do not function in isolation, but rather, they complement each other. Exposure therefore, must be meaningful if it is to yield the expected results. Language learners must be willing and fully charged to acquire the target language through any given opportunity. Krashen (1981 and 1982), as mentioned earlier on under the section Acquisition versus Learning in this chapter, attributes language acquisition to comprehensible input. A language learner must be able to extract new linguistic items from the auditory or visual messages; for acquisition to take place. This entails that mere exposure to language would not result in an automatic acquisition, only when the message one is exposed to is comprehensible and contains new linguistic features, that acquisition can occur.

2.8.2 Economic incentives

Another factor that contributes to immigrants’ proficiency in the destination language, is the economic gains associated with mastery of a target destination language. This factor however, is not directly responsible for acquisition, but rather it is a motivational factor that pulls immigrants towards acquiring the target language. Destination language learners commit to acquire the target language, when the expected future benefit of learning the language concerned outweighs time, effort and money invested in learning the target language (Dustmann and Fabbri, 2003; Chiswick, 2008; Tubergen and Wierenga, 2011). According to Dustmann and Fabbri (2003), the knowledge of a destination language is an important tool for explaining immigrants’ successes in the host country’s labour market. Proficiency in the destination language is key for determining employment probabilities of the immigrants. As alluded to above, non-proficient immigrants would find it difficult to persuade potential employers, since communication skill is often a requirement for most jobs, including unskilled occupations.
2.8.3 Efficiency

Efficiency, according to Chiswick and Miller (2001: 393), is ‘the extent of improvement in destination-language skills per unit of exposure’. Scholars however, have not been able to directly test the effect of efficiency and the other two determinants of destination language acquisition mentioned above. This is because there are no direct measures for the three mechanisms of language acquisition. Van Tubergen (2010) notes that due to lack of direct measures for the three factors, scholars came up with some bridge assumptions and attempts were made to draw series of hypotheses from observable individuals. The bridge assumptions include the effect of age on arrival, length of residence in the destination country, level of education, linguistic distance and others. The effect of age on destination language acquisition, is the widely researched and debated among all other bridge assumptions, and immigrants’ proficiency in the target language has often been analysed on the basis of their age on arrival to the new host societies. Because of its relevance to the nature of this study, the following section is dedicated to the summary of the debate on age and destination language acquisition.

2.8.3.1 Age and destination language acquisition

Age, as noted by Dong and Ren (2013), has been a controversial issue that has attracted a great deal of debate among scholars in the discipline. The topic about the effect of age on language learning has been of interest for a considerable period since Lenneberg’s (1967) pioneering work title, ‘Biological foundations of language’. The key question in the debate about the effect of age on language acquisition, according to Schulz and Elliot (2000), is whether whatever that which positively works in children language acquisition can also work in adults’ destination language acquisition, and whether children are better in language acquisition than adults. However, Schulz and Elliot’s (2000) question leads to another question: what it is exactly that which facilitates a smooth second language acquisition in children? While these questions have been partly Answered by Krashen’s (1981 and 1982), comprehensible input model, in the section under ‘language learning versus acquisition’, further explanations have been provided in the subsequent paragraphs of the current section.
The widely reported view that children acquire language better than adults is traced back to Lenneberg’s (1967) Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH), which postulates that human beings are prone to acquire languages in their early years of life, the ability that gets lost at the onset of puberty around the age of 12. Lenneberg and his followers (e.g., Glass and Denny, 1987; Chiswick and Miller, 2001 Mesch, 2003) attribute children’s ability in language acquisition to biological factor of the plasticity of the brain, which they argue to cease after puberty. Children’s brain, according to CPH, is flexible to language learning and this flexibility is said to fade after puberty, hence; making it difficult for adults to learn a second language. Glass and Denny (1987: 105) compare children and adults’ abilities in language acquisition as follow:

In situations where a child is brought up by immigrant parents, children often become capable of speaking two languages with a degree of fluency and accuracy that makes them indistinguishable from the native monolingual speakers. So striking is the contrast between child and adult that it seems likely that the child is, in effect, learning two mother tongues, i.e., a second first language. The adult L2 learner has somehow lost this capacity.

In contrast to CPH, the Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP), also known as Cumulative Model by Hakuta (2001), states that there is only one Common Underlying Proficiency for the two language systems of a bilingual speaker. According to this model, language skills from one’s mother tongue are transferable to another target language. This entails that adult language learners, because of the cognitive abilities they possess from their first language, will have advantage over children in as far as acquisition of second or destination language is concerned. This being the case, scholars (such as Brown, 1980; Collier, 1987; Johnson and Newport, 1989; Stevens, 1999; Fledge, Yeni-Komshian and Liu, 1999; Bialystok and Miller, 1999; Munoz, 2010; Fledge and Liu, 2001) refute the assumption about the role of the biological factor and children’s superiority over adults in second language acquisition.

Collier (1987) questions the manner in which comparison tests on second language competency are conducted. He observes that such tests do not include all domains of language competency but, instead, focus only on second language accent. As indicated earlier on, language competency tests were supposed to focus on whether a learner is able to meet communication demands of various situations, since
language is domain specific. Further to focusing on accent, Stevens (1999) finds the sample sizes used in such competency tests to be inadequate, as they only consist of the respondents from one group of the same linguistic background. Stevens (1999) and Rodriques-Fornnells, Cunillera, Mestress-Misse and Diego-Balague (2009), further comment that there is no consensus among scholars on specific neurological factors that result in maturational constraints in second language acquisition.

Age, according to Stevens (1999), puts immigrants at different life paths, with each path having a different effect on the acquisition of a target language. Young migrants, for example, are likely to attend school and meet new many friends in the destination country. They are also prone to marry native spouses unlike adults. Fledge and Liu (2001), therefore, argue that age itself has no direct effect on second language acquisition, but rather age is confounded with other factors that influence acquisition directly. Brown (1980), through his Optimal Distance Model, observes that since children are flexible and courageous with the new socio-cultural aspects they face in the host societies, processes of acclimatisation are faster for them than they are for adults. It is this quality that contributes positively to destination language acquisition among children. In view of this Model, destination language learning is not an age-related issue, but a phenomenon whose ease and difficulty should be defined by the socio-cultural factors. As noted by Munoz (2010), it is the context under which languages are learnt that have a bearing on the effect of age on second language acquisition, hence; generalisation across the contexts should be avoided.

Further to criticism of the Critical Period Hypothesis, Fledge and Liu (2001) point out to a number of loopholes in maturational constraints argument. Firstly, they question the suitability of the sample of the participants used in the studies that seek to determine the effect of age on second language acquisition. They observe that, instead of engaging participants with the state of neurological development at the time of second language learning, they have incorrectly adopted chronological age as the determining variable. Secondly, they wonder to what extent the first language can be said to have been fully developed to negatively influence second language acquisition. They further comment that there is no clarity on the exact state of first language development that is responsible for the alleged negative influence on L2
acquisition. Thirdly, Fledge and Liu (2001) note that since age is confounded with so many other factors, it is difficult to tell whether it is age itself that affects L2 acquisition or other factors associated with it.

Scholars (Newport, 1990; Stevens, 1999) argue that maturational constraints affect first language (L1) acquisition and not second. They note that Age-related effects on L1 were first thought to be biologically based, hence it was linked to neurology. However, since almost every child learns a first language, advocates of the maturational constraint were left with very few selected evidences to substantiate their argument. They relied heavily on the discovery of feral and abused children who were deprived of the opportunity to learn their first language, as they were blocked of all human contacts and communication until later in life when they were found to be old to learn their mother tongue. Besides rare cases of deprivation, they also relied on cases of language recovery at varying ages of patients with brain damage, of which children were found to recover their first language well, as compared to adult patients. According to Newport (1990), because of the scarcity of evidence for maturational constraints in L1, scholars turned to L2 with the assumption that maturational constraints in L2 would also hold for the hypothesis about age-related effects in L1. Newport (1990) punches a hole into Lenneberg’s aphasia evidence. He observes that the evidence is indirect, and at the same time, it focuses on the ability of the non-linguistic area of the brain in performing linguistic functions after damages in the specialised mechanism. The evidence does not tackle maturational constraints in the language learning of the normal observable individuals.

Scholars (Johnson and Newport, 1989; Fledge et al. 1999; Stevens, 1999) further find out that there is no consensus about a specific biological device or brain structure that causes age-related effects on second language acquisition. The Critical Period Hypothesis contend that adults lose their plasticity of the brain, hence they lose abilities in acquiring second language. While others suggest that the phonological effects in adults’ second language learning are due to phonological representation of their first language, others attribute it to other factors. Fledge et al (1999) therefore, wonder whether foreign accent feature in adult second language acquisition can be considered as an evidence that maturational constraints on L2 result from inability to pronounce L2 speech sound or inability to differentiate L2
sound from L1. Fledge et al. (1999) further comment that the CPH has no clearly agreed method on how it can be tested, as it has been applied with less specifications. Furthermore, there is no consensus as to when Critical Period ends. While some claim that it ends at 12 years, other say it ends at 15 years.

In trying to reconcile the two opposing views about the effects of age on L2 acquisition of young and adult learners, scholars (Krashen et al. 1979; Munoz 2010) draw a fine line between rate and ultimate attainment. They argue that in terms of rate, adults proceed faster in the early stages of the target language acquisition, making them more efficient than the children. However, while children are slow at the beginning, they outclass adult learners in the long term in as far ultimate attainment is concerned. This view seems to be strong, since adults in the researcher’s view, are in greater pressure to communicate than children. Adults cannot afford the period of silence which most children go through in their early days of language acquisition, before gathering sufficient lexical items to initiate early speeches in the target language. Based on this view, Munoz (2010) suggests that a comparison between child and adult second language learners should be conducted after a long period of exposure to the target language in order to ensure that it is ultimate attainment that is being tested and not accelerated rate of acquisition children register during in their early stages of acquisition. According to Munoz (2010), ten years is enough to minimally ascertain that it is ultimate attainment and not rate.

Munoz (2010) further comments that, when arguing for children’s capacity to learn a second language, one should bear in mind the difference between the quality and quantity of input to which children learners have access to in naturalistic language learning context and the formal language learning environment. He argues that the informal language learning environment provides plenty of quality input in a short period, unlike the formal context where acquisition is slow due inadequacy of quality input. Munoz (2010) likens the children’s capacity in learning a second language to a sponge’s capacity in absorbing the water. He argues that although the sponge has the capacity to absorb water, such capacity can only be demonstrated in the presence of water, and that in the absence of water, the sponge will not be able to demonstrate its absorption capacity. This entails that the ultimate attainment for children in naturalistic language learning context cannot be generalised to children’s
foreign language learning contexts. This is because, in foreign language learning context, opportunities for a meaningful language learning might not be sufficient to warrant acquisition of a target language.

In attempting to provide a more appropriate interpretation for the Critical Period Hypotheses (CPH), Johnson and Newport (1989) came up with two hypotheses about the CPH and these are, the Exercise Hypothesis and Maturational Hypothesis. The Exercise Hypothesis suggests that human beings have a greater ability for acquiring languages early in life, and that if this ability is not exercised upon during this infancy period, it will fade with maturation. However, if exercised, the capacity to acquire further language in life will remain intact. Another explanation for the CPH is the widely debated view about the maturational state hypothesis, which suggests that children have a greater capacity to acquire languages in their infancy and that this capacity collapses with maturation. The exercise hypothesis entails that as long as one was able to acquire his or her first language, the ability to acquire additional languages later in life will always be there. Only if one was not able to acquire the first language, then the acquisition of a second will be problematic too.

Scholars do not seem to differ on the fact that children have the capacity for ultimate attainment in second or destination language acquisition. However, the bone of contention is the causative agent for that ability. While CPH attributes it to biological reasons related to flexibility or elasticity of brain in children, many scholars, as alluded to above, tie it to socio-cultural factors. They consider language as a social enterprise, the view that sees adults too as having capacity to acquire additional languages when they are able to manage both social and psychological factors that have a bearing on acquisition. As stated by Brown (1980), it is the socio-cultural factors that define and determine the CPH. Brown (Op cit.) therefore, calls for the need to look for other factors that account for the target language acquisition beyond age. He proposes the ‘Optimal Distance Model’ as the suitable hypothesis that would fittingly account for the second language acquisition. The Model entails that one is able to acquire the target language to the extent that he or she is flexible with the socio-cultural factors of the host society. According to Brown (1980), it is the socio-cultural factors that are responsible for ultimate attainment in children’s language acquisition, and not age as such.
2.8.3.2 Education and language acquisition

Education is another efficiency factor deemed to contribute positively to target language acquisition. Some scholars (Chiswick and Miller, 1994 and 2001; Stevens, 1999) perceive immigrants with high levels of education to have greater potentials of acquiring the second language, in comparison with those with less education. Those with more schooling are thought to be efficient language learners, simply because they have acquired learning skills in school, and in some cases, the target language is the same language of schooling in the origin country.

2.8.3.3 Marriage

Chiswick and Miller (1994) state that migrants married to spouses from the same country of origin are likely to maintain use of home language, hence negatively affecting the acquisition of the target destination language. Whereas those marrying after migration are most likely to wed to spouses from the receiving communities, and they stand a better chance of maximising use of the target language as it becomes the medium of instruction at the household level. Although Chiswick and Miller’s (1994) assertions might sound plausible, its advantage could be associated to monolingual destinations, where only one language is predominant.

2.8.3.4 Linguistic distance

Chiswick and Miller (2004:1) define linguistic distance as ‘... the extent to which languages differ to each other’. According to Chiswick and Miller (2004), the immigrants’ adjustment to destination language will differ depending on the country of origin, even after controlling other variables governing language acquisition. Although they concede that it is difficult to measure linguistic distance, the two believe that one will intuitively be able to notice the difference or closeness between the languages. They point out that through language family or language tree, one will be able to trace the evolution of a particular language. They further remark that languages that are structurally close to one’s language of origin are easy to learn. Linguistic distance according to Chiswick and Miller (2004), is one of the factors that contribute to immigrants’ language choice in multilingual destinations.
2.8.3.5 Language and Culture

Language is an important means through which culture and its various traditions can be expressed and preserved. Language advances the feelings of group identity and solidarity. Scholars (Hoijer, 1948; Hoffman, 1989; Citron, 1995; Wierzbicka, 1997;) are of the view that language is culture bound. This is to say, there is a good relationship between language and culture and that cultural aspects of a particular community are demonstrated through the use of the community’s native language. Among the evidences that substantiate the assertion about the relationship between language and culture, according to Citron (1995), is the fact that languages are not direct translations of each other. That is to say, when translated, a sentence from one language is likely to have a different structure in another language. He further contends that the fact that certain words from one language may not have their direct equivalent translations in another language, is a clear indication that such words may not have been experienced in the language and culture of the speech community involved. To acquire a better and a clear understanding of such words, one has to open up to the culture of the target language. Hoijer (1948: 336) aptly captures the connection between language and culture as follow:

The interrelation of language and other aspects of culture is so close that no part of the culture of a particular group can properly be studied without reference to the linguistic symbols in use. As illustration we need only consider social organisation, the complex of cultural traits which governs the relations of individuals and groups in human society. To determine the precise nature of those relations it is always necessary to analyse not only the meanings but often the grammatical form as well of the terms employed to symbolise intra-group relationships.

Brown (1980) defines the socio-cultural distance as ‘… the cognitive and affective proximity of two cultures which come into contact within an individual’. He, however, notes that the notion of social/cultural distance is somehow problematic in the sense that it is difficult to measure it and determine the extent to which one’s culture is close or far from the other. This renders the phenomenon to be subjectively, rather than objectively defined. He, however, is quick to point out that subjective definition of certain concepts is not a new phenomenon as the trend is also common in many other psychological terms such as ‘empathy’ and ‘self-esteem’.
Realising the predicament that comes with the term social/cultural distance, Acton (1979) prefers to use the term ‘perceived social distance’ rather than ‘social distance’. He contends that the actual social distance does not matter and that what really counts is what a destination language learner him/herself perceives, with regard to a kind of relationship that exists between his/her own culture and that of the receiving society. According to Acton (1979), a person is bound to respond and act according to one’s perception about a phenomenon at hand. In trying to find a measure for the social distance, he formulated a model called the Professed Different in Attitude Questionnaire (PDAQ). Basically, the PDAQ was used to seek responses from destination language learners on three questions related to their perceptions about the differences between themselves and their countrymen, themselves and members of the host community, and the differences between their fellow countrymen and the target language group. The measure is basically used to reaffirm the learners’ perceptions about the difference between their own cultures and that of the host community.

Further to the argument for the inter-connectedness of language and culture, Hoffman (1989) mentions that the two are interrelated and at the same time dependent on each other. He argues that because of this interrelation and dependency, language acquisition cannot occur in isolation, but it will happen in a particular social and cultural context. He contends that even acquisition of culture partly takes place through language acquisition. According to Hoffman (1989), not only linguistic distance will have an effect on the target language acquisition, but social and cultural distance too will have a bearing on acquisition. The greater the social-cultural distance between two cultures, the greater the difficulty a second language learner would face in acquiring the target language. This is further expounded upon in the following section under Acculturation Model.

2.9 Acculturation Model

Further to a discussion about the relationship between language and culture, Schumann’s (1978 and 1986) Acculturation Model postulates that second language learners will acquire a target language to the degree they acculturate and assimilate to the speech community of the target language. The model is based on social-
psychology of acculturation. The two sets of factors constitute a single variable, which Schumann (1978 and 1986) calls ‘acculturation model’, and as mentioned above, these factors are of social and psychological nature. Acculturation therefore, is the integration of second language learners with the target language group in both social and psychological aspects of life. While the social variables of the acculturation model evaluate the social aspects of the two linguistic groups in contact in order to determine their impact on the relationship between the destination language learners and the target language group, the affective factors examine the psychological individual aspects that affect the acquisition, mainly on the part of learners. According to this Model, the social and psychological distance between second language learners and the target language community is the chief determinant of the degree to which language learners will acquire the target language. The Model suggests that socially and psychologically integrated learners develop sufficient contacts with the native speakers of the target language, enabling them access to obtain the linguistic input necessary for language acquisition. The following subsections present Schumann’s (1978 and 1986) social and affective factors which together make up the Acculturation Model. These factors have the potential to either promote second language acquisition or impede it.

2.9.1 Social factors

Language, as noted by Atkinson (2002), is a social enterprise which can best be understood in a particular social context. Language is a key factor of all other mechanisms through which social integration proceeds. Atkinson (2002:526) rightly describes the social aspect of a language as follows:

> Obviously but non-trivially language is a social practice, a social accomplishment, a social tool. People use language to and on their social worlds: to convey, construct, and perform among other things ideas, feelings, actions, identities, and simple (but crucial) passing acknowledgements of the existence of other human beings.

Spolsky (1989) comments that social factors are not only important in second language acquisition, but they are also relevant in first language acquisition by children. He argues that children’s first language acquisition too, can best be understood if the social aspects of it could be incorporated into factors that account
for language its acquisition. Spolsky (1989) further asserts that social context influences second language acquisition in two ways: firstly, it influences the learners’ attitudes towards the target language speech community, and secondly, it provides an opportunity for both formal and informal situations of language learning. He outlines the three integrative strategies as follow:

a) Assimilation: This is a situation whereby the second language learning group gives up its own values and life styles to adopt those of the target language group. This scenario has the potential to maximise contacts between the two groups and subsequently promote acquisition of the target language.

b) Preservation: The scenario whereby the target language learning group chooses to maintain its own values and life styles and refuses to adapt to values and lifestyle of the target language group. This tendency contributes to the creation of both social and ideological distances between the two groupings, and at the same time inhibits acquisition of the target language.

c) Adaptation: This is a condition whereby the second language learning group adjusts to values and lifestyle of the target language group, while maintaining its own values and lifestyle. The practice tends to promote the varying degree of the target language acquisition.

Schumann (1978 and 1986) presents a number of social factors that make up the first set of Acculturation Model. These factors are the integration strategies discussed above, the social dominance patterns, enclosure, cohesiveness, congruence or similarity between the cultures, attitude and the intended length of residence. Below are the details.

2.9.1.1 Social dominance patterns

The dominance patterns involve how cultural, political, technological and economical differences between the two socially and linguistically different groups influence the process of language acquisition. Schumann (1978 and 1986) observes that if the second language learning group is politically, culturally, technically and economically superior to the target language group, then they will not feel the need to acquire the target language. He cites an example of the French colonists in Tunisia. Despite
being the potential learners of Tunisian Arabic, they did not learn the language. This is because of the powers they had over the locals, which made them distance themselves socially from the natives, resulting in limited contact with them. Furthermore, he states that if the second language learning group is inferior to the target language group, then the social distance between the two groups is also likely to be wider and only minimal contacts can be realised, hence little or no acquisition can take place. He gives an example of the American Indians who have been inferior to the dominant Anglo group. They resisted integration and consequently, acquisition of English became problematic. According to Schumann (1978 and 1986), acquisition is likely to take place if the two groups in contact are economically, politically, technologically and socially equal.

It is however, important to mention that even when the two groups in contact are equal in social status, acquisition might not be guaranteed until other crucial determining factors of language acquisition are met accordingly.

2.9.1.2 Enclosure

Enclosure is among the social factors which Schumann (1978) perceives to have the potential to either promote the target language acquisition or inhibit it. The extent to which the two groups in contact share the same social constructs such as schools, churches, mosques, clubs, recreational facilities, trade, etc, will determine the degree of the target language acquisition. Contact between two groups will be enhanced and acquisition promoted if the enclosure is low. The enclosure is said to be low if the two groups share the same social constructs, and it is said to be high if each group has its own social constructs.

2.9.1.3 Cohesiveness and size

If the second language learning group is cohesive and big in size, it is likely to remain separated from the mainstream and would promote intra-group rather than inter-group contacts. This tendency is more prevalent in a situation when the second language learning group or immigrants acquiring the destination language for that matter, are concentrated at one residential area. This practice reduces chances of
acquisition as it limits chances of contact between the two groupings concerned. Chiswick and Miller (2008) call the tendency of concentration of immigrants from the same country as enclave. They note that there are three fundamental factors that determine immigrants’ choice of location in a destination country, and these are ports of entry, friends and family and availability of jobs. The new arrivals favour to settle where fellow country men and women have settled and the reason behind it, according to Chiswick and Miller (2008), is to reduce the cost of communication as the fluent earlier arrivals serve as their translators. Besides translational services, enclaves do also provide the newcomers with other necessary information links about availability of employment, social ethnic activities and consumption of the ethnic goods.

Chiswick and Miller (2008) however, warn that enclaves reduce chances of destination language acquisition, as immigrants live and work with people from the same country of origin and share the same language of the origin. The tendency leads to avoidance with regard to the use of the target destination language, hence subjecting the immigrants to the slower pace of acquisition.

Elmeroth (2003) writes about Kurdish refugees in Sweden confined in refugee camps without contact with the native Swedes. She reasons that although motivation is key to language learning, such motivation can only be triggered and fuelled by the need to communicate with the native population. If destination language learners have no contacts with the natives, then there will be no need for communication with them, hence there will be no motivation to acquire the language concerned. In addition to affecting acquisition of the target language, Bauer, Epstein and Gang (2005) observe that immigrants’ concentration or confinement does also affect the assimilation processes into the main stream.

Linguistic enclave, according to Chiswick and Miller (2008), is one way of getting rid of the difficulty of labour market consequences of limited proficiency in the dominant destination language. Chiswick and Miller (2008) observe that there is a difference between immigrants concentrated in one place with fellow countrymen and those living in areas dominated by the natives. Despite the huge task to adjust, integrated immigrants are likely to have a great exposure to the destination language. Borjas
(1998) observes that ethnic residential segregation is common among the least skilled group of immigrants.

Danzer and Yamani (2012) bemoan that most research studies conducted on the topic of integration of the immigrants appear to be one sided and not objective enough. Many of such studies are quick to suggest that immigrants are not willing to integrate into the mainstream society. According to Danzer and Yaman (2012), it appears like there are no attempts made to find out why some immigrants fail to integrate, despite researchers knowing that both immigrants and the hosts have the potential to either promote or hinder the integration processes. Danzer and Yaman (2012) note that some countries have a policy of placing immigrants to designated areas, and some cases with higher concentration of own-ethnicity. As mentioned above, immigrants housed in such ethnic enclaves are less likely to have direct contact with the natives, hence acquisition of the target language becomes a hefty challenge due to less contact with the natives and less frequency number of participation in various domains of public life that require more contacts with the native speakers of the target language. In sum, there exists a negative relationship between ethnic concentration and target language acquisition, as the density of the natives’ matter for immigrants’ social and linguistic integration.

2.9.1.4 Congruence

Schumann (1986 and 1978) reports that if the culture of a target language group is similar to that of the second language learners’ group, more social contacts are likely to take place and the situation has to potential to improve acquisition of the target language.

2.9.1.5 Length of residence

Length of residence in the host community is another predictor of the target language acquisition according to Schumann (1978). The longer one remains in the area of the target language, the more contacts are likely to develop, and acquisition promoted. However, Munoz (2010) cites two critical conditions for acquisition to occur, and these are availability of the comprehensible input and the level of affective filter. Negative attitude on part of the learner will deter acquisition
irrespective of the availability of the input deemed necessary for acquisition. Those with positive attitude will fully utilise acquisition chances, such as length of residence in the area of the target language.

2.9.2 Affective factors

Schumann (1986 and 1978) describes affective factors as psychological aspects that affect an individual in the process of second language acquisition. The affective filter postulates that second language learners who are psychologically open and free, tend to look at the target language group as the reference. Berry (1997:14) calls the affective filter ‘psychological adaptation’ and defines it as ‘... a set of internal psychological outcomes including a clear sense of personal and cultural identity, good mental health and the achievements of personal satisfaction in the new cultural context’. According to Berry (1997) one has to unlearn practices that may no longer be relevant in the new society, in order to psychologically adapt to the order of the host society. New patterns of behaviours and norms in the receiving society may lead to cultural shock and stress on the part of the new immigrants. This section presents effects of the three psychological factors to second language acquisition, and these are language shock, cultural shock and motivation.

2.9.2.1 Language Shock

Language shock is a form of fear that arises due to incompetency in the use of the target language. According to Spolsky (1989) anxiety disturbs the acquisition of new vocabularies in the target language. Spolsky further observes that, even for the already acquired vocabularies, one may not be able to remember them when needed, precisely because of the extreme level of worry that leads to undue stress, and subsequent failure on the part of the second language learner to practice the use of the target language. In adult second language learners, anxiety is evident when one holds back and decides not to speak to the native speakers for fear of being ridiculed if committed an error. The worry, according to Schumann (1986), stems from the excessive state of doubt in the correctness of the true and exact meanings of the acquired terms. Dornic (1985:256) describes language as the potential stressor:
... stress typically increases not only as a result of the use of a weak language, but even because of the actual or expected consequences this may have if the bilingual fails to explain his opinion, describe his problem, formulate his point of view, defend himself against suspicion or accusations, or if he fails to understand exactly what other people try to say to him, this failure will considerably add to the stress.

Contrary to adults, children second language learners or acquirers do not fear criticism, rather they feel free in using the target language as they see it as the means of play and communication. Stengel (1939) equates the use of the second language to wearing of fancy clothes. While adults may like to wear fancy clothes, but fear for criticism and mockery would stop them from wearing such clothes.

2.9.2.2 Cultural shock

The excitement on the part of the immigrants over the new destination country, often gets cut short by the cultural differences encountered in the host society. Cultural shock is the fear that emanates from the state of confusion on the part of the destination language learners. The challenges include the new customs and norms, unfriendly and aggressive attitude of some members from the host community. Immigrants find themselves in a state of a shock as a result of the new culture encountered in the receiving countries. These conditions impact negatively on the acquisition of the target destination language. Anxiety, according to Spolsky (1989), deters acquisition and mastery of the new lexical items of the target language. One may not even be able to remember vocabularies that have already been acquired due to excessive stress. Spolsky (1989) further comments that anxiety that arises due to cultural shock discourages the learner or the acquirer from practicing the target language. Cultural awareness enhances the acquisition of the target destination language, as it has the potential to help the learner appreciate the appropriate ways of addressing the people, greeting them, requesting, agree or disagree. This is precisely because linguistic patterns acceptable to one speech community might not be acceptable to another.

2.9.2.3 Motivation

Motivation is another factor that has the potential to either promote acquisition or inhibit target language acquisition. Schumann (1978 and 1986) cites two types of
motivations: integrative motivation and instrumental motivations. The former refers to a situation whereby one acquires the target language in order to become part and parcel of the speech community of the language one admires, and the latter refers to the attainment of the target language mainly for economic and other material gains. With an integrative motivation, a learner is expected to affiliates to and know more about the target language group in order to be accepted in the new community. According to Schumann (1978:1986), it is an integrative motivation that correlates positively to achievement in second language acquisition. Ely (1986) however, observes that it is difficult to distinguish between integrative and instrumental concepts, as one particular reason can either be integrative or instrumental, depending on social and psychological factors involved. Furthermore, Ely (1986) wonders if integrative /instrumental concepts capture the full variety of learners’ motivations for acquiring the second language. Ely (1986) argues that one group of second language learners may have its own reason/s for acquiring the target language, and which may not fall under integrative or instrumental motivation. Ely (1986) laments the scarcity of research conducted to determine the other types of motivation students may have for learning the target language.

Masgoret and Gardner (2003) investigate the relationships of second language attainment to five variables of motivation from Gardner’s (1985) Socio-educational Model. The five variables of the model are integrativeness, attitudes toward the learning situation, motivation, integrative orientation and instrumental orientation. Masgoret and Gardner (2003:126) define integrativeness as “… openness to identity, at least in part, with another language community”, while they (Masgoret and Gardner, 2003:128) describe motivation as “goal-directed behavior” which involves several factors that include effort, persistence, attentiveness, desires and aspirations. The concept of integrativeness, according to Gardner (2010), is considered to be in line with the cultural aspect of second language acquisition. While the socio-educational model concedes that all its five variables relate positively to achievement in the second language, it states that it is the motivation that is highly correlated to achievement in the target language. The Model distinguishes between motivation and orientation in language study. It argues that orientation does not entail motivation, as one may have an integrative orientation in language study but may not be motivated to learn the language. Orientation is a
mere classification of reasons for learning a language. With this understanding, there should be a difference between integrative motivation and integrative orientation. Gardner (2010) however, observes that many researchers in language learning have wrongly taken integrative orientation for integrative motivation and attribute achievement in language learning or acquisition to it. He emphasizes that the effective factor is motivation and not orientation.

Masgoret and Gardner (2003) note that integrativeness and the attitudes toward the learning situations are the two variables that influence an individual’s motivation to learn the target language and that it is the motivation that is responsible for achievement in the target language. According to Masgoret and Gardner (2003), integrativeness and attitude; though correlate success in second language acquisition, their effect on acquisition is indirect as they influence through motivation. The major factor related directly to attainment in second language acquisition, according to socio-educational model, is the motivation itself.

2.10 Second language fluency versus purism

To date, there has been no consensus among linguistic scholars on the exact definition of the term ‘fluency’. As rightly observed by scholars (Koponen and Riggenbach, 2000; Derwing, Rossiter, Munro and Thomson (2004), because the word ‘fluency’ is naturally embedded with multiple meanings, it has been difficult to pinpoint a single meaning that can be agreed upon. As stated earlier in this chapter, (see section 2.8.3.1 age and destination language acquisition) Collier (1987) notes that most SLA studies on L2 competency seem to have reduced and equated competency to a single aspect of L2 accent. But Kormos (2006) observes that besides accent, another significant factor that differentiate between native and non-native speakers of L2, is the speed with which they talk. The controversy around the definition of L2 competency or fluency, is even made worse with claims of language purism by some native speakers. This section presents definitions of both language fluency and the notion of language purity, with an aim of trying to separate real life concept of fluency from a mental construct of language purism.
In trying to capture the controversy with regard to the use of the term ‘fluency’, Kormos (2006:155) remarks:

The term fluency is usually used in two senses. In the so-called broad sense, fluency seems to equal oral proficiency; in other words, it means that a fluent speaker has generally high command of the foreign or second language. In its narrow sense, fluency is usually considered to be only one component of oral proficiency, which is often used as one of scores in assessing candidate’s oral language skills in an exam situation.

Another attempt for the definition of ‘fluency’ is that which has been provided by Lennon (2000:26) when he referred to it as: ‘...the rapid, smooth, accurate, lucid and efficient translation of thought or communicative intention into language under the temporal constraints of on-line processing’. Yet another simple, inclusive and easy to comprehend definition of the term ‘fluency’, has been provided by Saville-Troike (2006:134) in his description of L2 competency as: ‘... everything a speaker needs to know in order to communicate appropriately within a particular community’.

Prefontaine (2013) observes that previous studies on language fluency did not pay much attention on self-perceived language competency. This being the case, most definitions of the term ‘fluency’, do not include learners’ perception of what they consider to be characteristics of L2 fluency. She is of the view that definitions of the second or foreign language fluency should include competency characteristics perceived by second language learners themselves.

Arguing from a psycholinguistic view point, Danesi (1995 and 2003) contends that ‘conceptual competency’ in L2 should as well be regarded as part and parcel of second language fluency. He argues that conceptual competency should not be looked as something detached from a language, as it plays a key role of enabling an L2 learner to effectively use the target language. According to Danesi (1995 and 2003), it is the power of conceptual competency that enables second language learners to metaphorise in L2. Metaphorisation on the part of L2 speaker, involves the ability to effectively use the figurative language of the L2. Conceptual competency, according to Danesi (2003), is mediated by three other sub-competencies and these are: a) meta-formal; which is the learner’s ability to utilise conceptual systems of L2; b) reflexive, which is the ability to translate concepts into language categories of L2 and; c) associative, which refers to the knowledge of how
L2 concepts are classified and interrelated culturally. A combination of these three sub competencies define what an L2 conceptual competency is all about.

As indicated earlier in the very same section, the notion of linguistic purism further complicates the already troubled definition of second language fluency. This is because, with purism, judgement about L2 competency in terms of the perceived purity is left sorely in the hands of the natives.

Brunstad (2003:52) defines Linguistic purism as ‘... an ideology for removing unwanted elements from the language and revitalising domestic elements. The obvious goal for the practice is the preservation of the ancestral language’. While the notion seems to be deeply rooted in many societies with standard languages, linguistic scholars however (e.g. Hudson 1996: Brunstad 2003), argue that purism does not exist linguistically, since almost all the existing languages have in their midst some forms of borrowings from other languages. Consequently, Brunstad (2003) describes the notion of linguistic purism as a mental construct that is metaphorically understood. For instance, people may choose to understand language as a territory, hence they would feel the need to protect and guard it against foreign invaders.

In his book ‘Linguistic purism’, Thomas (1991) makes a mention of five types of linguistic purism, and these are:

a) Archaising purism: is a kind of purism which aims at maintaining language of the golden past pure from foreign influences. It replaces loanwords with the equivalent native words.

b) Ethnographic purism: this is an ideological and a nationalist purism that is driven by a subjective orientation that countryside dialects are the best and purer than urban varieties.

c) Elitist purism: it assumes that the highly formal language variety of the few educated elite is the best, compared to many other varieties. This could lead to banning of the perceived substandard and regional varieties.
d) Reformist purism: this is driven by the need to break the political link of the past, by supplying the newly formed society with new words and phrases to replace the outdated old ones that are associated the colonial past.

e) Playful purism: this is the kind of linguistic purism that proceeds as an aesthetic game.

f) Xenophobic purism: the type of purism that promotes the use of native language material against foreign materials. Xenophobic purism contains the generic meaning of purism.

Purism, according to Brunstad (2003), is practised at different levels of the language as follow:

a) Lexicon purism: this is the most common purism which stands against direct borrowing of foreign words.

b) Orthographic purism: this is a kind of purism which rejects foreign spellings. It ensures that the adopted foreign words are consistent with the writing system of the native language. It may involve replacing certain letters with those letters seen to be more representative of a resultant local sound (phoneme).

c) Morphological purism: this type of purism reacts against foreign inflections. It ensures that the accepted loan words are morphologically integrated into the system of the borrowing language.

d) Syntactic purism: this is the type of purism which targets features of the foreign syntax, and lastly,

e) Phonetic purism, which fights against foreign sounds in the native language.

It is clear from the above classification that ‘purism’, is a multifaceted phenomenon which, according to Brunstad (2003), is based on subjective categorisation.

2.11 Second Language Learning Strategies
Second language learning strategies have been defined by the Council of Europe (2001: 57) as:

...the means the language user exploits to mobilise and balance his or her resources to activate skills and procedures, in order to fulfill the demands of communication in context and successfully complete the task in question in the most comprehensive or most economical way feasible depending on his or her precise purpose.

In his earlier publication, Cohen (1995: 5) adds a controversial element of consciousness in his definition of a learner strategy when he described it as:

...learning processes which are consciously selected by the learner. The element of choice is important here because this is what gives a strategy its special character. These are also moves which the learner is at least partially aware of, even if full attention is not being given to them.

Cohen’s line of thinking when he added the element of consciousness in his definition of a learner strategy was that, it is the consciousness that distinguishes a strategy from non-strategy processes of acquisition. In his later review of the definition, and despite maintaining the element of consciousness in it, Cohen (1998) saw it fitting to separate various processes of learner strategy, since not of them fall under learning strategy category. There are strategies for language learning, language storage and language use. In view of this, Cohen’s (1998: 4) revised definition of learner strategies reads:

...processes which are consciously selected by learners and which may result in action taken to enhance the learning or use of a second language or a foreign language, through storage, retention, recall and application about that language.

Cohen (1998) notes that, while learning strategies involve identification of L2 aspects that need to be learned, classification of such aspects, rehearsing or memorisation of them in case of informal language learning, use strategies that include other sub-categories of strategies. These are strategies of retrieval, cover or compensatory strategies, rehearsal strategies and communicative strategies. Below, are details for sub-strategies of language use strategy:

a) Retrieval strategies: These are strategies which a second language learner uses in calling up specific language material from where it has been stored in the
memory. For learners who have the habit of writing up a vocabulary list for easy rehearsing or memorisation of such words, Cohen (1998) comments that, the retrieval process for them may involve seeing that list through what he calls the 'mind’s eye'.

b) Rehearsal strategies: According to Cohen (1998), rehearsal strategies focus on the mastering of language structures. He, however, observes that some processes of rehearsal strategy fall under language learning while others fall under production strategy. He gives an example of a rehearsal process of memorisation, whereby the act itself is considered as a learning strategy but recalling of a memorised item becomes use strategy.

c) Cover strategies: These are learner strategies used to create an impression that the learner is in control, while in true sense he/she may not. Cohen (1998) notes that learners use various copying strategies to protect themselves from the ridicules of language incompetence. They do not want to look dull, poor and inept. He further observes that some compensatory attempts may lead to the production of simplified utterances of the intended expression or phrase. In other situations, cover strategies may lead to complexification as one tries to bring further qualifying statements in order to be heard.

d) Communicative strategies: These are approaches of delivering the intended message. Cohen (1998) comments that this type of strategy has received much attention in the literature, when compared to other strategies. Communicative strategies include sub-categories of intralingual strategies such as the overgeneralisation of a grammatical rule, word meaning from one context to another context where such rule and meaning may not apply. Communicative strategy also includes interlingual strategies, such as the negative transfer of a linguistic pattern/structure from one’s mother tongue to a target language.

Littlewood (1998) aptly describes situations that necessitate the use of communicative strategy on the part of L2 learner as:

… occasions when learners are compelled to express a meaning for which their competence contains no appropriate items or rules at all. In order to get the required meaning across, the learner may then resort to matching language items to the situation in any ad hoc way that will solve his immediate problem.
Cohen (1998) contends that communicative strategy does not have any impact on learning, as a newly encountered lexical item can be used in a given current communicative exchange, without necessarily a learner having an intention to learn it.

He further categorises learning and use strategies into cognitive, metacognitive, affective and social strategies as follow:

a) Cognitive strategies: these include the identification of L2 elements that need to be learned, grouping and subsequent storage of such language materials. Cognitive strategies do also include strategies of language use, such as recalling up of the language material, rehearsal and others.

b) Metacognitive Strategies: these involve preplanning, post-evaluation of language activities and language use.

c) Affective Strategies: These are learner strategies that control emotions, attitude and motivation. They include strategies of regulating anxiety, and self-encouragement.

d) Social strategies: these strategies involve actions by L2 learners taken in order to interact with the target language group. This may involve the tendency of asking questions.

Cohen (1998) further observes that learner strategies have been wrongly described in the literature as good and bad. He argues that strategies, in themselves, are neither good nor bad, but rather, they have to potential to be used effectively. Another, worthy noting contribution to the research in this area, is the work of Naiman, Frohlich, Stern and Todesco (1978) particularly, the following five common categories:

a) Active task approach: this approach involves L2 learners making use of the learning environment and being positive about the learning opportunities provided therein. No doubt that this is an important strategy of language learning, as most differences in the level of success and failure in acquisition could partly be
attributed to the ways the learners themselves respond to learning opportunities available.

b) Realisation of a language as a system: this entails that because L2 learners are able to realise that language is a system, they are able to use a comparison strategy to relate their various aspects of the mother tongue (L1) with a target language. Because of the same realisation, they are able to analyse patterns and structures of the target language and make inferences.

c) Management of the affective factors: this is a strategy used to cope with the potential situations that may lead to psychological effects on the part of the learners, particularly when they fail to use language material from the L2. This strategy may include the memorisation of certain courtesy phrases and even sometimes, laughing at own language mistakes. This strategy, as discussed above, is what Cohen (1998) calls 'cover strategy', whereby learners create a false positive impression in order to avoid negative comments that may cause some psychological effects in them.

d) Realisation that language is a means of communication and interaction: because of this realisation, L2 learners use a strategy of looking for potential communicative situations with the target language group. They also tend to adopt a strategy of focusing on the meaning rather than accuracy, so that they can be understood.

e) Monitoring of L2 performance: this is another strategy whereby L2 learners seek feedback from interlocutors as they attempt to speak the target language. This is evident when L2 learners speak and pause in anticipation of a feedback from the competent listeners around them.

Rubin (1981) classifies learner strategies into two main categories, direct and indirect strategies. He describes strategies that are instantly involved in the learning processes (e.g. inferences, clarification, guessing, memorisation, etc.), as direct strategies, and those whose use can be delayed (e.g. practicing) as indirect strategies.
In his article, ‘Individual differences in second language learning’, Skehan (1991) cites learner strategies and preferred learning styles among the mediating factors that contribute to learners’ differences in their levels of success and failure in Second Language Acquisition. He regrets that most researchers in Second Language Acquisition tend to pay more attention to common processes of acquisition which have universal effects on L2 learners, such as cross-linguistic influence, fossilisation and others. Only a few scholars have rarely focused on matters that contribute to different levels of success and failures in language acquisition by learners. Skehan (1991) distinguishes between learner strategies and styles. While strategies are the means of enhancing both language learning and use, he views styles as learners’ preferred contextual orientation to learning. He observes that previous studies on learner styles focused more on the difference between Field Dependent (FD) and Field Independent (FI) categories of the second language learners. Whereas FD learners prefer interaction-based kind of language learning, FI learners are more analytic and object oriented. That is, they prefer interacting with a given set of language data on their own spaces, rather than interactive learning.

Second language learners or acquirers use various learning and use strategies to enhance both the learning and production processes of the target language. These strategies include pattern memorisation, simplification, inferencing, hypotheses formation and hypotheses testing. There are two opposing views about communicative strategies. On the one hand, there are those who argue that communicative strategies cannot be taught as they depend largely upon the extra-lingual context under which the communication is taking place (Canale and Swain, 1980; Paribakht, 1986; Cohen, 1995). This view appears to be informed by the assumption that the predetermination of what comes next in the conversation may be difficult, as one may not know what the next person is going to say next in the conversation. This renders usefulness of communicative strategy tied to a communicative situation at hand, which requires an instant solution. A conversational participant may not afford to make a long pause during a conversation in order to remember and retrieve a preferred learned communicative strategy.
On the other hand, there are those (Willems, 1987; Bongaerts and Poulisse, 1989) who are of the opinion that communicative strategies should be taught since learners do not have them. Bongaerts and Poulisse (1989) argue that if communicative strategies were universal and readily accessible to all, then such techniques could be transferable from the first language to the second language. Bongaerts and Poulisse’s (1989) argument could however be subjected to a counter argument, that non-transferability of certain knowledge may not necessarily mean that such knowledge can only be attained through formal training. Context can indeed be the best teacher, particularly with regard to circumstantial kind of knowledge, although this may not warrant a call to suspend the training of communicative strategies.

Skehan’s (1991) inclusion of learner strategies among factors contributing to varying degrees of acquisition among L2 learners, as discussed above, signifies its importance in Second Language Acquisition and perhaps justifies the need for such strategies to be taught.

Despite a wide range of variations in the manner in which scholars have categorised language learning and use strategies, a critical analysis of the cited research works reveals that there is one thing common almost in all the cited categorisations, and that is, there is a strategy for each and every process of language learning and use. As rightly commented by Cohen (1998) above, there are strategies for learning, strategies for storing the learned language material, strategies for recalling them when needed, strategies for rehearsing and application. None of the cited scholars appears to negate this fact, despite terminological variations and differences in the way in which the strategies have been classified. So far, the discussion has unpacked the categorisation of the strategies, and in the following subsections, the few individual strategies, rather than categories, are discussed in detail, and these are: memorisation, simplification, inferencing, hypothesis formation and hypothesis testing.

2.11.1 Memorisation
Ellis (1986) observes that early stages of second language acquisition are characterised by what he calls *formulaic speeches*, which are memorised expressions which a second language learner memorises knowing the meaning and not the structures. According to Ellis (1986), the wide use of the memorised patterns is due to the fact that they are frequent and directly linked to communicative needs of the learners. Memorised utterances according to Krashen and Scarcella (as cited in Ellis, 1986), aim to compensate for the lack of linguistic competence in a second language to produce creative speeches which are automatic in nature. Although memorised patterns are discouraged by the current second language theories of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT), Ellis (1986) sees them as the basis for creative speech. According to Ellis (1986), the formulas undergo a slow process of analysis that results in some information being supplied to creative speech system. This entails that formulaic speeches facilitate the development of creative speeches.

Among the characteristics of early utterances of the memorised patterns, according to Ellis (1986), is that they are more grammatical than the latter utterances. One could therefore easily conclude that ungrammaticality of the latter utterances symbolises learners’ transition from formulaic speech to creative kind of speeches. Second language teachers therefore, should be careful and not take grammaticality of learners’ early memorised utterances for competence in the target language. Besides pattern memorisation, pattern imitation and pattern analysis also contribute to formulaic speeches.

### 2.11.2 Simplification

Simplification, according to Ellis (1986) is another strategy second language learners use to lessen the burden of learning the target language. Simplification can be achieved through various ways. These ways are generalisation, overgeneralisation and transfer, which are discussed briefly below.

#### 2.11.2.1 Generalisation

Generalisation, according to Ellis (1986), involves the learners’ grouping of similar information together into categories, making a rule for that category and apply the
category rule to a new situation. Littlewood (1998: 23) on the other hand, describes generalisation as:

...a fundamental learning strategy in all domains, not only in language. In order to make sense of our worlds, we allocate items to categories; on the basis of these categories we construct rules which predict how the different items will behave. Sometimes, however, our predictions are wrong, probably for one or two reasons: a) For some reason, the rule does not apply to this particular item, even though we have allocated the item to the appropriate category. We must therefore learn an exception to the rule. (b) The item belongs to a different category which is covered by another rule. We must therefore either relocate the item to a different category which we know, or we must construct a new category and a rule.

2.11.2.2 Overgeneralisation

According to Ellis (1986), overgeneralisation involves the stretching of the limited existing knowledge of the target language rule to a different context of the same language where that rule may not apply. Littlewood (1998) describes overgeneralisation as an attempt by an L2 learner to try to get rid of the confusing language material, by inserting them into frameworks of language pattern and rule which he/she already knows. As stated under generalisation, learners group what they assume to be similar linguistic items together and apply a single rule to them. In this process, some linguistic items might be placed in the wrong category as learners may not be aware that categories have exceptions. For example, an English second language learner may construct a linguistic category of the past tense form and apply a general rule of adding -ed- to the regular verb. With this reasoning, the past tense for the verb *buy*, would erroneously be thought to be *buyed*.

2.11.2.3 Transfer

Littlewood (1998) observes that both over-generalisation and transfer share similar aspects of underlying learning strategy. They are both forms of simplification, and the only difference is that over-generalisation uses prior knowledge of a target language as a basis for the hypothesis about a particular rule in the target language, while transfer makes use of one’s mother tongue as a basis. In both situations, a learner uses prior knowledge to make sense of the new language data.
Ellis (1986) acknowledges simplification as an important strategy for enhancing learning or acquisition of the rule system in the second language despite some researchers rejecting it on the basis that it generates errors. He reasons that language learning is not only concerned with correct utterances, but it includes errors that can be worked on to achieve perfection. Cordor (1981) argues that it is not possible to simplify rules of the second language which learners have not acquired yet, but Ellis (Op cit.) contends that it is the process that is being simplified. Tarone (1980) sees simplification as a communicative strategy rather than a learning strategy.

2.11.3 Inferencing

This is another strategy learners use to aid the acquisition of a target language. Ellis (1986: 172) defines inference as ‘… the means by which the learner forms hypotheses by attending to input’. Second language learners use inference in cases where they cannot access language rule through transfer, generalisation or overgeneralisation. Through inference, the learner can induce a rule from the available second language input. According to Ellis (1986), there are two cues for inferencing, and these are intra-lingual and extra-lingual inferencing. The former involves building of hypotheses on the basis of the contextual meaning, while the latter involves formation of hypotheses by analysing the external L2 data. Ellis (Op cit.) further notes that intra-lingual inferencing is a product of intake analysis, while the extra-lingual inferencing relies on nonlinguistic context of the speech act.

2.11.4 Hypotheses formation

L2 learners form rule hypotheses of the target language as one way of enhancing the learning process of the language concerned. According to Ellis (1986), hypotheses are formed using prior knowledge of the language, induction of the new rules and a combination of the two.

2.11.5 Hypotheses testing
Ellis (1986) notes that L2 learners may sometimes commit errors in trying to test out correctness of the hypothesised L2 rule system. This is done in anticipation of the feedback from others. There are four ways through which learners go about testing their hypotheses. They do so:

a) Receptively: by looking into the L2 input and compare one’s hypotheses against available L2 data.
b) Productively: this involves the production of utterances that contain the hypothesised rules in anticipation of the feedback.
c) Meta-lingually: through consultation of peers, teachers, native speakers, dictionaries and other printed works.
d) Interactionally: this is when a learner picks up a rule from his or her interlocutor during a conversational communication.

Hypothesis testing strategy has been criticized precisely because of the role of its negative feedback which does not lead to correct utterances, as the learner may not be able to alter the hypothesised rule immediately. However, Ellis (1986) explains that learners often form two hypotheses or more in respect to a single rule. Negative feedback therefore, would simply guide the learner to the right option already available, hence alteration may not require much time.

2.11.6 Translation

Translation is another common strategy most second or foreign language learners use in the process of learning or acquiring the target language. Liao (2006) observes that translation is an important learning strategy although it is mostly associated with language teachers who use it to aid the teaching. He laments that there is very little research conducted on the use and role of translation as a resource for language learning. Liao (2006:193) describes translation as ‘... a phenomenon of transfer of one’s language to another language’. Translation is one of the cognitive language learning strategies. According to Cordor (1981), translation helps in making up for the lack of L2 competency on the part of learners. He brands the translational role of the first language as an intercession rather than an interference, as viewed by many.
2.12 Summary

The chapter on literature review evaluated relevant theories and other aspects of second language acquisition. It looked at terminological issues surrounding Second and Third Language acquisition, and acquisition versus learning hypotheses. The chapter unpacked Chiswick and Miller's (2001) theory of destination language acquisition, particularly; by looking at the proposed determinants of language acquisition. Since this study involves adult destination language acquirers, the issue about the effect of age on language acquisition was discussed at length. While there is some kind of unanimity of child’s supremacy over an adult, with regard to ultimate attainment in Second Language Acquisition, scholars attribute this capacity to social and psychological factors as opposed to biological factors by Lenneberg (1967) and others. They reject the assumptions that adults’ capacity to acquire additional languages later in life gets lost with the advent of puberty. The chapter further tackled variables of Schumann’s (1986) acculturation model and lastly, it evaluated a number of language learning strategies.
CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Research, according to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011), has three characterizing features that make it unique from any other form of investigation. It is systematic and controlled, self-correcting; as procedures are open to scrutiny by other researchers in the same subject area coverage and, lastly, research is impartial as personal opinions are weighed against empirical facts.

This chapter presents a systematic outline of methods and procedures used to ensure that this study adequately responds to its question. It begins by restating the research problem partially introduced in the opening chapter on orientation to the study, section 1.2, followed by an explanation and description of the qualitative research approach and phenomenological research design adopted for the study, and the rationale for settling on such research approach and design. A detailed explanation is given on sampling procedures followed, instruments employed for collection of empirical data from the participants, and the analytical method used to make sense of the gathered data. Lastly, the chapter tackles issues of the validity and reliability of the research findings, and ethical considerations critical for the safety and wellbeing of the participants, and assurance that informants’ rights are not contravened.

Ambert, Adler, and Detzer (1995) describe research methods as procedures and techniques investigators use when conducting their research works. Methods explain how data will be collected, analysed and evaluated for validity and reliability of the research findings. Mingers (2001) however, observes that the terms ‘method’ and ‘methodology’ are often used interchangeably by many without any distinction between the two. He points out that although the terms are related, they are technically different. Mingers (2001: 242-243) describes ‘Research methods’ on one hand as ‘…instruments for provoking a response from the world. The nature of response depends on both the world and the instrument’. He defines ‘methodology’, on the other hand, as ‘… structured set of guidelines or activities to assist in
generating valid and reliable research results. It will also consist of various methods or techniques, not all of which need be used every time’.

The term ‘methodology’, according to Mingers (2001), has three connotations: first, ‘method-ology’ referring to study of methods. With this understanding, Mingers is of the view that the term can refer to a course in research methodology which tackles various research methods. The second connotation is when talking about methodology of a particular study, in this instance; the term refers to actual research methods. The last connotation of the term is the generalisation of the second. Methods are critical if the researcher is to get to the bottom of the research question. Cohen et al. (2011: 12) observe:

If the most distinctive feature of science is its empirical nature, the next most important characteristic is its set of procedures which show not only how findings have been arrived at but are sufficiently clear for fellow scientists to repeat them, i.e. to check them out with the same or other materials and thereby test the results.

3.2 Problem Identification

As pointed out in section 1.2, since the introduction of democracy in 1994, South Africa has become the new destination country for many African immigrants (Orman, 2012). These immigrants are either refugees or economic migrants who come into the country to look for better jobs and other economic opportunities. Many of such newcomers live in the midst of local black South Africans who speak various African languages. This being the case, the incomers are exposed to different experiences in as far as the acquisition of various African indigenous languages is concerned.

Most of African migrants come to South Africa as labourers and their immediate challenge upon arrival in the country, is that of language barrier; as some of them do not speak English, a language considered as "a lingua-franca in public life" (Henrard, 2003:11). Proficiency in the dominant destination language attracts several opportunities for the immigrants, and these include employment, consumption of goods and services and trade. Trade between people is facilitated mostly through the use of a common language, and trade opportunities would therefore increase if a trader is able to reach out linguistically to many people (Beiser and Hou, 2000).
Most research studies on immigrants and destination language learning that have been conducted in South Africa, have not focused on the learning or acquisition of South African native languages including isiZulu (Mbokazi, 1991; Mabila, 2001), but rather, much of such research works on this field have focused on learning of English and other European languages in a classroom environment. Orman (2012) observes that the linguistic perspective of African migration to post-apartheid South Africa, has not received the attention it deserves from language scholars. He further argues that studies (e.g. sociology) that have been conducted on African immigrants in South Africa, have not addressed language issues of the migrants simply because language has not been considered to be a problem.

As alluded to in section 1.3 of the introductory chapter, the general aim of this study was to explore, compare and analyse experiences of Malawian and Nigerian immigrants about their isiZulu acquisition in Johannesburg. Specifically, the aim was to determine factors underlying the difference (if any) in trends of acquisition between the two groups. The study does not seek to test proficiency levels of the two groups, but rather aims at lobbying for self-reported information about informants’ knowledge of isiZulu. An introductory question of whether the respondents had some knowledge of any of South African indigenous languages was asked, and subsequent questions focused on informants’ encounter with isiZulu, as the common language among the speakers of different indigenous languages in Johannesburg. One may report not to have acquired it, but still could share reasons for failure to do so despite the dominance and wide use of the language among blacks.

3.3 Qualitative research

This study, as mentioned in section 1.12 of the introductory chapter, made use of qualitative research approach, which is known to be the best in revealing different perspectives of a phenomenon, as there might not be single truth in the subject under investigation. Flick (2013) outlines the three basic aims of qualitative research: the first aim is to describe the phenomenon under investigation in greater details. This may involve comparison of individuals or groups by focusing on highlighting what they share in common or the differences between such individuals or groups. The second aim is to establish reasons which contribute to the differences or even
similarities between the cases. The third core aim of qualitative research, according to Flick (2013), is to try and develop a theory of the phenomenon from the analysis of the empirical data.) The empirically spoken and written data gathered through qualitative methods serve as evidence for the researcher’s descriptive report (Peshkin, 1998; Leedy and Ormrod, 2005; Polking-horne, 2005). Qualitative research is applauded of being capable of generating a deep understanding of any intricate phenomenon. Polking-horne (2005: 137) describes qualitative research as “…an umbrella term under which a variety of research methods that use language data are clustered”. In his adoration for qualitative research approach, Peshkin (1998: 416) remarks:

Through understanding complexity is not exclusive to qualitative inquiry, qualitative methods are notably suited for grasping the complexity of the phenomena we investigate. By not prespecifying what they will attend to, and by virtue of the relatively extended amount of time they devote to exploring their phenomena, qualitative inquiries have practically no limit to what they can uncover.

Further to Peshkin’s comment about the exhaustive nature of qualitative inquiry, Ambert et al. (1995) describe it as a suitable approach for unpacking questions of how and why people choose to behave and think the way they do. Questions of ‘how’ and ‘why’ are good for getting into the in-depth and breadth of the phenomenon. In agreement with Ambert et al. (1995), Lacey and Luff (2001) observe that although quantitative methods such as questionnaire may as well respond to questions of how and why, such responses may not be adequate as they may lack details that can only be generated through interaction and engagement with the informants.

Noriah and Abu Yazid (2014) note that qualitative inquiry focuses at the collection of cases, events, or actions that serve to clarify or deepen the researcher’s understanding of the phenomenon being studied. They observe that while the findings of the qualitative research findings cannot be generalised to a bigger population, still it provides analytical generalisation whereby specific results are generalised to a broader theory. According to Noriah and Abu Yazid (2014), qualitative research helps in two ways: enhancing understanding of what other
researchers have already found out, and aiding explanation and description of the researcher’s initial findings about the research problem.

Qualitative research has been described by many (e.g. Kaplan and Ducheon, 1998 Brand and Slater, 2003; Mahoney and Goertz, 2006;), as flexible almost in every aspect of its process. With this flexibility, it leaves no stone unturned in its effort to find rich and satisfying answers to a research question/s. Lacey and Luff (2001: 3) aptly summarise what a qualitative research entails, when they say:

The mass of words generated by interviews or observational data needs to be described and summarised. The question may require the researcher to seek relationships between various themes that have been identified, or to relate behaviour or ideas to biological characteristics of respondents such as age or gender. Implications for policy or practice may be derived from the data, or interpretation sought of puzzling findings from previous studies. Ultimate theory could be developed and tested using advanced analytical techniques.

Schreier (2018) observes that the criticism directed to qualitative inquiry as being incapable of generalising its findings to a bigger population, is based on the understanding of generalisation in the sense of statistical generalisation. Schreier (2018) therefore, calls for the reconceptualisation of generalisation so that it matches the tenets of qualitative research. He makes three suggestions on how the widely held notion of statistical generalisation can be relooked in view of qualitative research. He proposes transferability, theoretical generalisation and modification of the understanding of the empirical generalisation as alternatives.

Transferability entails that findings from one case can be transferred and applied to another case based on similarities between the contexts of the source and the target cases. In view of this, Schreier (2018) argues that even cases of quantitative inquiry can be generalised in qualitative investigation by looking at the relationships between the source and target contexts. As per this concept of transferability, context therefore provides a solid basis for generalisation in qualitative inquiry. It is on this understanding that Guba and Lincoln (1981: 62) argue:

It is virtually impossible to imagine any kind of behavior that is not heavily mediated by the context in which it occurs. One can easily conclude that generalisations that are intended to be context-free will have little that is useful to say about human behavior.
Theoretical generalisation, as previously alluded to by Noriah and Abu Yazid (2014), seeks to either enhance or build a theory, as findings from specific instance are generalised to a broader theory. Modification, according to Schreier (2018), involves lowering the criteria of what can be called generalisation. It is based on William’s (2000) notion of moderatum generalisation which suggests that the social world depends on shared culture which is consistent in various social environments. Fairweather and Rinne (2012) note that the moderatum generalisation regards qualitative sample as having characteristics key to making inferences to a wider population.

Fairweather and Rinne (2012) observe that qualitative research has not done much in documenting generalisation compared to quantitative research. They further note that generalisation in quantitative research is unanimously realised by using random samples and statistical methods. Whereas qualitative research designs mostly use non-random samples and scholars differ in as far as generalisation in qualitative research is concerned.

As previously mentioned Noriah and Abu Yazid (2014) are of the view that generalisation is not the ultimate goal for qualitative research. Other scholars (e.g. Hammersley, 1990) allege that generalisation is not achievable in qualitative research, while others (e.g. Schreier, 2002; Guba and Lincoln, 1981) believe that there are various ways of achieving generalisation in qualitative inquiry as highlighted above.

While Guba and Lincoln, (1981) and Schreier, (2018) argue for the role of context in mediating behavioural studies, one may have little ground to refute it being a key factor through which qualitative generalisation can be realised. Through contextual similarities, sample conclusions from one case can be applied to another case with similar characteristics. In her article, ‘Generalising from single case’, Kennedy (1979) argues that it is possible to generalise qualitative findings to a wider population. She comments that the only obstacle to generalisation in single-case studies is lack of universal rules in methodology which can guide ways in which causation and generalisation inferences could be drawn from qualitative data. She suitably describes this methodological vacuum when she says:
What seems to be needed before single-case studies will be widely accepted is a set of rules for drawing inferences about the generality of findings from a case study or even from studies of a very few cases. And, to be acceptable, these rules would need to be as clearly enunciated as the current statistical rules are for generalising from group studies.

(Kennedy, 1979: 664)

By single-case studies, Kennedy (1979) includes non-statistical studies of multiple cases, as is the case with many qualitative studies. Generalisation, according to Kennedy (1979), should not be driven only by the number of units a researcher has observed, but most importantly, the characteristics of the units and the contexts and conditions under which such units were investigated. She describes generalisation as:

… not simply a function of the number of units one has observed. More importantly are the kinds of units observed, that is, the range of characteristics of the units investigated and the range of conditions under which observation occurred. The range of characteristics included in a sample increases the range of population characteristics to which generalisation is possible.

(Kennedy, 1979: 665)

Kennedy (1979) maintains that a wider range of generalisation cannot be achieved by simply increasing the sample size, but rather increasing units of population characteristics that are being investigated. Turkey (as cited in Kennedy, 1979) observes that generalisation inference is in two folds. The first fold is statistical in nature and connects the sample to a population. The second inference connects directly to a population thought to be similar with the study sample at hand. She outlines the criteria for generalisable sample attributes in single-case studies as follows:

a) Wide range of attributes across the sample cases: As noted earlier on, what makes a sample representative is not just the randomised size of the sample, but most importantly, inclusiveness or abundance of attributes of the target population in that sample.
b) Common attributes between sample cases and the population: According to Kennedy (1979), the basis for generalisation is the degree to which the identified attributes are common between sample cases and the target population.

c) Availability of unique attributes in the sample cases: Kennedy (1979: 667) comments: ‘… it is only by separating the unique from the common features that the relationship between a sample and a population can be defined’.

d) The final criteria is that attributes must be relevant. One is able to determine relevance of the sample attribute by gauging them against the research question.

Since the focus of this research was on exploring the Malawian and Nigerian immigrants’ experiences of isiZulu acquisition in Johannesburg, the qualitative research approach was deemed suitable; hence its adoption.

3.4 Phenomenological research design

Kuper, Reeves, and Levinson (2008:405) define phenomenology as “A theoretical framework that focuses on exploring how individuals make sense of the world and that aims to provide insightful accounts into the subjective experience of these individuals”. Wolff (1999: 220) describes phenomenological inquiry as the study that:

… focuses on lived experience. It looks at people’s everyday experience of phenomenon and how these experiences are structured, focusing the analysis on the perspective of the individual experiencing the phenomenon. Phenomenology thus attends to how people experience phenomena existentially. The aim is to describe and interpret how the situated body makes sense of a phenomenon.

Phenomenological research according to Creswell, Hanson, Clarke and Morsale (2007) involves the collection of views from the informants and description of what the participants say in common. The researcher’s starting point therefore, is the identification of the research problem and then working on the soliciting of the empirical data from those who have lived the phenomenon in question. De Vos and Fouche (1998) are of the view that phenomenological inquiry is best suited to the understanding and interpreting of the meanings people attach their daily life experiences to.
With regard to this study, the phenomenological research approach aided the understanding and description of Malawian and Nigerian immigrants’ experiences with regard to the attainment of isiZulu as a destination language in Johannesburg, South Africa.

3.5 Participants Population

As stated in section 1.12 of the orientation chapter, the participants in this study were sampled from Malawian and Nigerian populations and were composed of male and female adult immigrants residing in the greater Johannesburg area. The target areas included suburbs such as Mayfair, Fordsburg, Brixton, Hill-brow and Johannesburg Central Business District (CBD). The decision to select these suburbs was influenced by the concentration of the said immigrants in these areas.

Only those immigrants working in the informal sector as employees or operators of small informal businesses were recruited as participants in this study. Selected men and women who entered South Africa at the age of 18 years or above were sampled. The only reason for the recruitment of those whose ages on arrival were 18 years or above was to ensure that the informants were adults and not children who are assumed to have the ability to acquire foreign and second languages in a much easier way than adults.

Most African immigrants in South Africa work in the informal sector, and the two key explanatory factors are lack of proper documentation and low absorptive capacity of the formal economy for those who might have formalised their stay. Migrants in the informal sector have been chosen because, this is where most of black South Africans do also work, hence; increasing the likelihood of immigrants being exposed to South African indigenous languages in the work environment.

In his address to the National Council of Provinces in November 2003, the former President, His Excellency Thabo Mbeki (as cited in Devey, Skinner and Valodia (2006:1), commented about the informal sector as follows:

The second economy (or marginalised economy) is characterised by underdevelopment, contributes little to GDP, contains a big percentage of our population, incorporates the poorest of our rural and urban poor.
3.6 Sampling Strategy

Sampling is a term whose use has been borrowed from quantitative inquiry and therefore, Polkinghorne (2005) warns the qualitative researchers using the term to be cautious enough and not to understand it from the quantitative perspective. The word *sampling*, as used in quantitative research, entails that the selected participants are the sample representation of the larger population, and that the conclusion drawn from the sample can be applied to a wider community from which the sample has been extracted. Polkinghorne (2005) proposes *selection* to be the most appropriate word to be used in qualitative research. In case of maintaining the word ‘sampling’, it should then merely be understood to mean selection of participants free of representation connotation. Polking-horne (2005) argues that multiple participation is not just an evidence of how the experience under investigation is shared among the wider population. Fossey, Harvey, McDermott and David (2002) describe qualitative sampling as:

... concerned with information richness, for which two key considerations should guide the sampling methods: appropriateness and adequacy. In other words, qualitative sampling requires identification of appropriate participants, being those who can best inform the study. It also requires adequate sampling information sources (i.e. people, places, events, types of data) so as to address the research question and to develop a full description of the phenomenon being studied.

The aim of sampling, according to Noriah and Abu Yazid (2014), is to gather cases, events or actions that would enhance the researcher’s understanding of the phenomenon being studied. Consequently, the researcher’s new discovery or understanding of the phenomenon would either enhance what has already been discovered about the subject or provide the initial understanding about the study in question. For this to happen, Noriah and Abu Yazid (2014) comment that the research questions have to be exhaustive to cover every aspect of the phenomenon. They commend purposive sampling, which they also call ‘judgmental sampling’ as the suitable research sampling strategy for a qualitative study that focuses on the participants of specific experiences.
This study adopted purposive or purposeful sampling strategy which, according to Polkinghorne (2005), entails choosing people capable of providing detailed accounts about the phenomenon under investigation. The purposive sampling ensured that only those with intense accounts about the experience were involved. Sample composition in purposeful sampling, according to Schreier (2018), can either be specified well in advance or emerge over the course of the study, as is the case with a snowballing procedure. Due to the emergent nature of qualitative research, Schreier (2018) finds the emergent sampling procedure to be suitable for a qualitative study. Predetermined sample composition often leads to oversampling and inclusion of units that might not be relevant to the study. He observes that an oversampling problem results from a methodological problem of allowing only for insufficient analysis of individual cases.

Marshall (1996) observes that for the random sampling strategy to be considered, the phenomenon characteristics of the population under study have to be known well in advance, which is not possible in a qualitative study. He further argues that random sampling can only become representative when characteristics under investigation are evenly distributed within a target population. He argues that there is no evidence suggesting that beliefs, values, attitudes and experiences; which are key in qualitative research, are normally distributed in the target population. Marshall (1996) contends that qualitative researchers are pretty aware of the fact that participants differ in respect to richness and depth of the information they may have to offer and therefore, the researcher has to purposefully select the most productive sample.

To access research informants from the two different populations, two different approaches were used. Firstly, the gatekeepers who, according to Bilger and van Liempt (2009:125), ‘… include persons who are, due to their role in the political, economic or social life, in close contact with the target group on a regular basis and therefore enjoy certain respect among them’. In view of the gatekeepers’ approach, and with regard to the Nigerian population, authorities from two Nigerian organisations were consulted to help the researcher access the initial informants. The two organisations are the Nigerian Union of South Africa and Nigerian Pastors Association of South Africa. One of the notable objectives of the Nigerian Union of
South Africa is to support and promote healthy relationships between Nigerians and South Africans and other nationalities in the areas of trade, commerce, learning and culture.

As for the Malawian participants, the help to identify and access the initial informants was sought from the authorities of the Malawian Advocacy Group in South Africa (MAGSA) as well as authorities from different Mosques in the greater Johannesburg area, where most Malawians of Islamic faith work. Bilger and Liempt (2009) note that the gatekeepers; not only do they arrange contacts between the researchers and the informants, but they also help reduce mistrust and doubts on the part of the respondents since the contact has been established by someone trustworthy and known to them.

Secondly, personal contacts with both Nigerian and Malawian populations were used to access the initial small number of the participants. The two approaches led to a network sampling technique popularly known as the snowball technique. This is a chain referral technic which, according to Noriah and Abu Yazid (2014), is good for selecting participants from various groups while upholding a non-biased stance during the selection process. It is a multi-stage technique that begins with one or a few people or cases and stretches out based on links from the initial cases. The contacts mentioned in the two approaches above provided the initial number of the participants from whose links the sample subsequently grew to saturation point. As it is evident from the two approaches, the study involved diverse gatekeepers in order to avoid over-dependence of one network which could result in accessing people of similar experience. The participants in this study were neither rewarded in any way for their participation, nor were they punished for refusing to participate. Those who took time to participate in the study, were however, thanked verbally by the researcher as a gesture of appreciation.

3.7 Interviews

Interview was the main instrument used for collecting empirical data from the informants of this study. Interview is acknowledged by many scholars (Patton, 1990; Hinds, 2000; Leedy and Ormrod, 2005; Polkinghorne, 2005) as the suitable tool for
data collection in qualitative phenomenological studies. Unlike in questionnaires, where research informants are restricted by the space provided for an answer, interviews allow for unlimited extended explanation of the lived experience of the phenomenon on the part of the respondent. In trying to explain the key purpose of interview as the research tool, Patton (1990: 278) says:

The purpose of interviewing is to find out what is in and on someone else’s mind. The purpose of open-ended interviewing is not to put things in someone’s mind (for example, the interviewer’s preconceived categories for organising the world) but to access the perspective of the person being interviewed. We interview people to find out from them those things that we cannot directly observe.

Polkinghorne (2005) observes that empirical data for qualitative inquiry is not easily found, hence it takes the researcher’s use of the appropriate instruments and digging deep to be able to obtain the needed data and adequately address the identified research problem. He aptly explains:

Data used in qualitative research are not simply lying about on the surface ready to be gathered up rather, the researcher is required to dig below the surface to bring up experiential accounts. The first act of production is selecting from all of the possible sources that are available (interviews, documents and artefacts) the ones that are most likely to inform the researcher about the character of the experience being explored (Polkinghorne, 2005: 142).

While arranging for interviews with the potential informants from Nigerian nationals, effort was made to enquire whether an interviewee would be comfortable to express him/herself in English or not. The reason for this inquiry was to determine the need for an external interpretational service during interview recording and cross-translation of the data thereafter, should one prefer to be interviewed in one’s native language. However, all the Nigerian respondents had a reasonable command of English, hence all the interviews were conducted in the language. As for Malawian respondents, the researcher being a Malawian national himself and since almost all the Malawians speak Chichewa as the National language, which acts as the country’s lingua-franca, interviews were conducted bilingually using Chichewa and English. The participants were advised to feel free to use either Chichewa or English whenever they felt comfortable to do so.
One of the highly contested elements about interviews as a research tool in qualitative studies, is the question whether the researcher should make use of a standardized survey interview, or he/she should adopt an interactive conversational interview approach. Among the scholars who give preference to standardized forms of interviews are Fowler and Mangiona (1990); Kovan, and Royston (1990); Fowler, (1991); and others. Standardized forms of interviews require that no interpretation of the posed question is to be provided to the interviewees by the researcher. The reason behind this line of thinking is that the interpretation of the question is most likely to influence the informants’ responses. The essence in standardizing interviews, according to the above-mentioned scholars, is to ensure that all the interviewees receive the same original wording of questions, and this ensures uniformity in the questions posed, as it also ensures that responses received are for the very same original questions. The assumption is that the researcher may not be able to provide similar interpretation of questions to multiple interviewees participating in the study, an act which would result in different responses. Promoters of standardization however, argue that standardization does not affect the responses, but rather it is the wording of a question which does affect the data. According to them, weakly framed questions would result in poor responses while the perfectly worded questions yield responses of high quality.

Briggs (1986); Schuman and Jordan (1990) on the other hand, are of the view that interviewees must be helped to understand the questions. They argue that for interviews to yield appropriate response, the interviewees must be assisted to fully understand the questions, else the validity of the data would be compromised.

As much as the argument for the standardisation of interviews and interpretation avoidance may sound to be plausible theoretically, it is somehow difficult to apply it in practice. No matter how hard one tries to make interview questions comprehensible to the interviewees, such questions would still be embedded with some discipline-related elements of technicalities which would render them difficult to be understood by some interviewees. It is important to mention that interviewees might not be of the same level of education. This being the case, the claimed uniformity of questioning might not hold, if the researcher is to produce any reliable results.
A flexible and friendly conversational interview approach was adopted, and the respondents were treated as experts of the topic being discussed. Permission was sought from interviewees to have the interview proceedings recorded. Upon granting of recording consent, a smart-phone recorder was used to record the interview proceedings, which were later transcribed into an individual transcript account of each interviewee. The interview proceeding with each interviewee lasted for about 120 minutes; depending on the exhaustiveness of the responses.

As alluded to above, this study adopted one-on-one semi-structured conversational interviews which, according to Fossey et al. (2002: 727), ‘… facilitate more focused exploration of a specific topic using an interview guide. Interview guides usually contain a list of questions and prompts designed to guide the interview in a focused, yet flexible and conversational manner’. Patton (1990) calls semi-structured interview, the general interview approach, which ensures uniformity of the data obtained from various informants as same questions and issues get administered to several participants.

In order to ensure independency of opinion of the informants, the researcher remained neutral throughout the course of interviews with each interviewee. He ensured that personal reactions and perceptions with regards to informants’ responses are kept tight to his chest so that the participants do not get influenced by such perceptions. Neutrality, according to Patton (1990), entails an informant being able to tell his or her story freely without being influenced by any kind of approval or disapproval of feedback from the interviewee. During interview proceedings, the researcher kept nodding his head as the informant was telling his or her story, to demonstrate that he was keenly following, and that the conversation was valuable to him.

Interview proceedings were audio-recorded using a smart-phone recorder. A critical advantage of a recorder according to Patton (1990:384), is that it ‘… does not tune out conversation, change what has been said’. It was in view of this fact that the researcher preferred using a recorder over notes taking, since a recorder is more accurate than notes taking. With a recorder, access to quotations is easier than hand
written notes. Furthermore, any seemingly unclear expressions can be played repeatedly, until the mist is removed.

Beddall-Hill, Jabbar and Aishehri (2011) observe that social mobile devices such as iPad, iPhone and other smart-phone devices, have lately become increasingly important research tools for data capturing in modern societies. This is so because of their integrated functionalities, portability; in terms of size and weight which make them suitable and attractive tools for data collection in qualitative research. The multi-functionality of these smartphones includes facilities for social interaction, GPS, applications for mobile online music purchase, eBooks, gaming apps, digital camera, audio and video player and recorder. Smart-phones prove to be reliable tools for outdoor and on the move kind of research.

Among the advantages of smartphone use as a research method of data collection; according to Beddall-Hill et al. (2011), is that it affords a researcher an opportunity to conduct a much-focused interactional conversation with an interviewee, as its use tends to have less technological interruptions which characterised the previous traditional tools such as tape audio-recorder, external microphones and others. This is so because a smartphone has a friendly interface and therefore is easy to use. Furthermore, because of its abundancy storage capacity which a smartphone enjoys, the process proceeds in a more automatised manner without the fear of space depletion or a need for monitoring storage device, as it used to be the case with traditional physical storage devices such as tapes used in a tape-recorder. With smartphones, a single touch on a command button of a specific application can get a seemingly difficult task easily done without any laborious involvement of the operator.

Another advantage of using a smartphone recorder was that audio files were stored instantly and anonymously without a need for separate physical storage devices. Furthermore, the creation of data backups was no longer a daunting task, as it used to be in traditional methods.

While the social mobile devices are applauded for their effectiveness, efficiency, combined with portability and multi-functionality of their roles, which previously required the use of separate devices, Beddall-Hill et al. (2011) note that these
devices are free of negative connotations. Participants may not consider them to be serious research tools, simply because they are highly associated with social uses. Beddall-Hill et al. (2011) further observe that, when traditional research instruments such as tape-recorder, and external microphones are used in interviews, participants are likely to recognize them and easily consent for interviews when asked. Their awareness of such instruments and the procedures used, lead to a certain degree of comfort on the part of the respondents.

In view of the negative connotation attached to the use of Social Mobile Devices (SMDs) as to not being the formally recognized research tools, attempts were made in this study, to explain to the participants the positive roles of these devices. The respondents were told that a smartphone will be used only for the capturing of the data, and not necessarily for the dissemination of the same. With this approach, the researcher managed to successfully remove the myth from the minds of the participants. Further to this, an assurance was given to the respondents that the researcher has taken all the necessary steps in ensuring that all vital procedures of safeguarding participants’ safety were in place, and that their rights would not be contravened in any way.

The first few questions of the interviews focused on capturing demographic variables of the participants. Factors such as age on arrival, country of origin, mother tongue, educational background, economic activities in the destination country, and others were captured. Participants’ demographics were deemed important as they help explain differences in language acquisition among learners of different backgrounds. Demographic questions were followed by another set of questions that focused on exposure. Questions about which language participants use quite often, general encounter with isiZulu in Johannesburg, which places they often hear isiZulu being spoken in, and other related follow-up questions were asked. The aim behind this was to determine the extent to which the participants are exposed to the language, and how effective such situations are to the learning of isiZulu. Another equally important set of questions focused on capturing attitudes of the participants to isiZulu and its native speakers. Again, this was seen to be key in the understanding of some elements that contribute to the varying levels of language acquisition among learners who seem to have equal learning opportunities of the target language. Since all this
was taking place in naturalistic language environment, the researcher saw it fit to pose a question that would probe for the information about whom the target language learners perceive to be the best informal teachers of the language, between men and women, boys and girls. A follow-up question was also asked to find out why they settled for the option they chose. This was important because, as mentioned in section 2.6 of the chapter under literature review, language is a social phenomenon, and this being case, the relationship between learners and the teachers, formal or informal teachers for that matter, has to be healthy. A good learner-teacher relationship is most likely to provide an enabling learning environment. The final set of questions dwelt on probing for the participants’ self-reported competency of isiZulu. This was important for the tallying between the previously captured language affects and the learners’ perceived competence in the language.

3.8 Ethical considerations

The major ethical dilemma facing the researchers is the need to strike a balance between observing confidentiality and reporting the truth about their research findings. Ethical concerns which investigators are required to address are mostly embedded in issues of procedures adopted for the study, methods of data collection, vulnerability nature of the participants, context of the study, nature of the data, and of course, handling of such data (Cohen et al., 2011). According to McLaghlin and Alfaro-Velcamp (2015), immigrants, specifically, the undocumented ones, constitute a vulnerable group in research. This group then requires high ethical considerations. This study however, because of the nature of its research question, did not seem to pose any risks to the participating immigrant groups. Nevertheless, the researcher took all the necessary steps to ensure that the participants were protected. Among the ethical concerns addressed in this study were issues of anonymity and confidentiality, informed consents for respondents’ participation in the study and permission to audio-record the proceedings of the interviews, and safety with regard to the handling and storage of both audio files and the transcribed data.

3.8.1 Anonymity and confidentiality
Anonymity, according to the *Concise Dictionary* (as cited in Wiles, Crown, Heath and Charles, 2006:3), refers to “unknown name of unknown authorship”, while confidentiality in the same source, is defined as “spoken or written in confidence; charged with secrets”. Although the two terms are used interchangeably by some scholars (e.g. McLellan, Mcqueen and Neiding, 2003) to refer to an act of concealing personal information about the informants, other researchers (such as Wiles et al., 2006; Cohen *et al*., 2011) find the two terminologies to be technically different. While anonymisation entails disguising identities of the respondents, confidentiality implies that whatever has been discussed in confidence cannot be revealed elsewhere without the consent of the informant. Scholars (such as Wiles et al. 2006; Cohen *et al*., 2011) therefore conclude that confidentiality is an unachievable thing in the research domain, as it contradicts the essence of research which requires the investigator to report the research findings for the benefit of the interested parties.

With regard to ethical guides relating to anonymity, Wiles *et al.* (2006) observe that the available ethical guidelines contain very little information on how such anonymity can be operationised beyond the use of pseudonyms. Wiles *et al.* (2006) further warn that the process of anonymisation may have some negative consequences on data if not handled well, particularly when a researcher fails to strike a balance between the concepts of disguise and distortion. A researcher is therefore required to assess the potential damage that can be caused to data due to anonymisation of its source, and the possible harm that can be caused to the informants by disclosing their identities. Wiles *et al.* (2006) therefore propose that the researcher must inform the participants with attributes that could be inseparable from their inputs that it might be difficult to anonymise their identities without distorting the data. The process of anonymisation therefore, must proceed without causing any harm to data.

In an effort to protect and ensure the safety of the informants, this study ensured that individual sources of information are not mentioned by their names, but instead the respondents were referred by code numbers. The study also ensured that it does not disclose any clue that could lead to the discovery of the participants’ identities. Knowing the vulnerability of the immigrants’ research participants, some of whom might be irregular, the researcher ensured that no mention of respondents’ legal status of their stay in South African is made in the study. The researcher was fully
aware that personal information can be used by a third party against those who participated in the research project. The researcher even avoided questions about migration processes, as such questions were deemed to have the potential to trigger suspicion on the part of the informants and compromise the trust and rapport required for the successful interview. Above all, the focus of this study was the linguistic aspect associated with migration and not necessarily migration itself.

3.8.2 Informed consent

Informed consent, according to Miller and Boulton (2007: 2199), is ‘a concept which attempts to capture and convey what is regarded as the appropriate relationship between researcher and participant. Definitions have traditionally emphasized respect for autonomy and the right for self-determination of the individual’. From the medical perspective, Kirby (1983) defines informed consent as:

… a concept which is obtained after the patient has been adequately instructed about the ratio of risk and benefit involved in the procedures as compared to alternative procedures or not treatment at all.

As discussed later in this section, there is no differences between informed consent approaches used in medicine and those used in the social sciences.

Miller and Boulton (2007) observe that the meaning for the informed consent is socially constructed, and given the changing conditions of societies, informed consent appear to have undergone some changes. Miller and Boulton (2007) argue that the current formal procedures for the requirement of an informed consent, in academia, has been a result of developments in communication and information technology. They contend that the notion of informed consent has, over the time, changed from being a mere moral requirement to a kind of compulsory requirement in research. Although the notion is of informed consent is an old requirement in research, practically, it used to be sought informally through a verbal mutual agreement between a researcher and a potential informant. Lately, the concept of informed consent has become a compulsory requirement in the research that has to be obtained formally in a written and signed document. Miller and Boulton (2007) remark that the change has been due to the highly publicized ratio of risks
emanating from the published research works. They observe that previously, 'informed consent' was a requirement in medical research, but later on, the frameworks were adopted in the social sciences as a code of practice for the ethical conduct of research in social sciences as well. Some social scientists (Punch, 1998; Homan, 1991; Small, 2001; Goodwin, Pope, Mort and Smith, 2003;) however, reject extension of ethical requirement to social sciences, saying that such a move would deter progress in social research citing examples of ethical issues of confidentiality and privacy, which could hardly be perfected in naturalistic research.

Wiles et al. (2006) observe that the very same ethical frameworks that are used in medical research, do also apply in social research, and these concern:

a) Participants must have a free will to make their own decisions, whether to participate in the research or not. Furthermore, they must be supplied with the right and sufficient information to base their decisions.

b) They must be assured of safety.

c) Ensuring that the research output is beneficial and not harmful to others.

d) Participants must be treated justly in the process of their participation in the research.

Prior to conducting the interviews, the participants were fully informed by the researcher about the purpose of the study and the nature of their participation to the research. They were told that they would be asked through a one-on-one interview to share their experiences with regard to the acquisition of isiZulu in Johannesburg. The respondents were told that the key reason for their inclusion in the study was the researcher’s trust in them that they were the right people with information about the phenomenon being investigated. They were also briefed that their involvement was voluntary and that it was within their rights to withdraw their participation at any stage of the study, be it before commencement of the interview, in the process of the interview or after the data has been collected. The researcher further explained to them that, should they decide to withdraw after the data has been collected, they had the right to request their input to be destroyed. The respondents were also briefed
that their interview recordings will be labelled with code numbers ready to be typed into transcripts, and that both digital recordings and the typed-up records will be identified by code numbers. An assurance was given to the participants that their contributions will be kept anonymous.

The researcher discussed with the participants the possible risks that could arise from their participation in the research project of this nature. Chief among the discussed risks were the problem of participants’ personal information being known by unintended third party, hence subjecting them to abuse and violation of their rights through unlawful detention and subsequent deportation. Another potential problem highlighted was the provocation of the participants’ previous emotional migration experiences. The researcher however, ensured the informants that it was highly unlikely that they would suffer any harm by participating in the research project. This is because the researcher ensured that all necessary procedures of ensuring the safety of the respondents were in place. Key to these procedures were the anonymisation of the informants and the decision not to identify them with their personal information, but rather assign them the code numbers. The researcher further ensured the participants that the focus of the research study was on immigrants’ experiences with regard to the acquisition of isiZulu, and not on the actual migration experiences and immigration status.

For the sake of transparency and accountability on the part of the researcher, the respondents were informed that the study was reviewed and approved by the University of Johannesburg, Faculty of Humanities Research Ethics Committee (REC) and that a favourable ethical opinion of conduct was granted (ethical clearance number: REC-02-0040-2018). In case of complaints about any aspect of the study, the informants were advised to contact the Chairperson of the Humanities Research Ethics Committee, Prof Grace Khunou, on 0115593346.

In addition to the participation consent, a separate permission was sought from the informants to have interview proceedings recorded. The researcher explained to the respondents the reason to have the interview proceedings recorded, that it was going to assist in capturing each and every detail of their invaluable inputs. The participants were told that quotations from the interviews will form part of the report
for the study without necessarily bearing respondents’ identities. After orientation, the participants were then asked to voluntarily sign both the participants’ information sheet and interview consent form. Those unable to sign were instead asked to print with their thumbs in places of signature on the forms. A provision was made to allow those respondents who felt uncomfortable to sign the documents to verbally consent for their participation and audio-recording of the interview proceedings.

### 3.9 Data preparation and transcription

Jenks (2018: 6) defines a transcript as:

… a record of social interaction; it may be created and used to examine anything from dialectal features to ideological construction. More importantly, a transcript is a theoretical construct. That is, a transcript reflects a scholar’s unique research interests, empirical goals, and disciplinary traditions.

McLellan et al. (2003) and Jenks (2018) contend that there is no single uniform way of data transcription applicable to different approaches of data collection in qualitative research. This entails that qualitative data can be transcribed differently depending on the type/s of tools used in data collection for a particular study. Mergenthaler and Stinson (1992) however, remark that although there is no single transcription format that could be applied to various types of qualitative data, there are some important guidelines that can help a researcher in preparation of his/her research transcripts from the audio/video recorded social interaction. Key among these guidelines, is the maintenance of naturalness of the transcripts by ensuring that they are structured by speech markers as it is the case with play and movie printed scripts. This is what Jenks (2018) terms ‘granularity’, and it involves the extent to which the investigator is faithful to sophisticated nature of conversational interaction. This entails the inclusion of symbols of some sort in the transcript in order to depict the dynamics of the social interaction. The second important guideline is the maintaining of morphological naturalness of the transcript by seeing to it that the convention standards of the written text are held up to improve clarity of the transcript. Jenks (2018) calls it ‘readability’, which is connected to the understanding of the intended audience. The third important transcription issue or guideline, according to Mergenthaler and Stinson (1992), is the ensuring of a precise reproduction of the audio-taped data without hastening to reduce the text. Jenks
(2018) treats this third guideline as an issue of **accuracy**, relating to a degree to which social interactional features present in the audio-recorded data are captured in the transcript for future reflections. The features include pauses, hand gestures, body movements, grammatical errors, and what Jenks (2018) calls the ‘visible’ and the ‘hearable’ in data recordings.

Data recordings for this study were prepared and transcribed as open transcripts, which Jenks (2018:8) describes as transcripts that are:

... based on the idea that recordings, as well as transcripts, are tools to develop research questions. A researcher creating an open transcript will abandon most or all a priori assumptions pertaining to what aspects of spoken discourse will be analysed. This entails transcribing, as much as possible, every seeable and hearable feature of talk and interaction that is captured.

McLellan *et al.* (2003) recommend that, the size of the transcript should match the length and depth of the study. That is, if the intended research requires an in-depth description of the phenomenon, then long and detailed text will be required. These scholars are, however, quick to advise that the transcripts should not just be long but, most importantly, they should contain relevant data about the phenomenon under investigation and the length of the transcript should be prompted by research questions.

Transcript-based research, according to Jenks (2018), is subjective in nature, and, this being the case, researchers are encouraged to disclose their influence during both the production and transcription processes of data recordings. Investigators are required to strike a balance between what they see to be important for the participants and the empirical objectives. It is due to this subjective nature of transcript-based research that the transcription of the same data tends to vary from one transcriber to another. Jenks (2018) however, points out that such variations in transcription will be there as long as people are involved in the transcription. This is so because, irrespective of the advent and advancement of technology, machines alone cannot precisely and automatically transcribe data recordings. The solution therefore, is to try to be objective as much as possible. Jenks (2018: 7) further observes that it is not only subjectivity that affects the transcripts, but that the change of context does also contribute to a change in the meaning of the transcript. He
describes a transcript as 'an evolving object' which evolves from an audio record before it becomes a textual record; with a potential of acquiring a new meaning in the process, as it moves from one stage and context of investigation to another. Put it differently, recording of an interview happens in the context of the conversation while transcription occurs outside of the immediate context in which the audio clip was recorded.

To overcome the challenge of subjectivity and an evolving nature of the transcripts, the audio data of this study was transcribed using an open transcription approach which ensured the transcription of an audio record in its entirety. Not only the verbal aspects of the audio record that were transcribed, but also the nonverbal parts of the conversation, which include body movements, pauses, laughs, background noise, and other dynamics of social interaction.

Transcript records for this study were prepared and formatted uniformly for the easy comparison between textual records. The font was set at 12 italic Arial, and all four margins of the page were set at 1 inch, with left justified text. A coversheet with basic information about the interactants was included in each individual transcript. Interviewee’s profiles contained non-identifiable personal information such as age on arrival, ethnic background, sex orientation, mother tongue and others. Biographic information is important when comparing pieces of empirical data from various narratives. This is critical during the analysis and discussion, particularly when providing empirical evidence for a specific theme, pattern or comparison of the groupings under investigation. The transcripts, though arranged as individual accounts of narratives, were approached as entities that share standardized features in the sense that all were written under one format template so that they look the same in structure. Attempts were made during transcription not to include any identifiable information about the interactants, particularly such information deemed to have the potential to cause harm, be it social or personal injury to an informant. The section that follows discusses data analysis approach that has been adopted for this study.

3.10 Data Analysis
Burnard, Gill, Stewart, Treasure and Chadwick (2008) comment that one of the most difficult and confusing processes of qualitative research is how to analyse and present the data once it has been gathered. As noted by Leedy and Ormrod (2005), there is no single universal way of analysing data in qualitative research. The data for this study however, was analysed using the Thematic Analysis Method which, according to Braun and Clarke (2006), involves identifying and analysing themes and patterns within the data. The Thematic Analysis Method was deemed suitable because it helps in reducing the complexity of data, thereby coding and labelling various units of the gathered data in a manner that would allow the categorisation of several concepts and elements under one category. That is, through Thematic Analysis Approach, units of data referring to one idea or concept are coded accordingly, and well-defined themes are developed. The process of data analysis, as noted by Lacey and Luff (2001), begins with the transcription of oral interviews into files of textual narratives. Flick (2013) however, notes that intensive data analysis begins after the data has been collected and prepared accordingly, and in some situations, data analysis commences with the collection of data and the two processes proceed simultaneously.

Basically, there are two approaches of data analysis, according to Burnard et al. (2008), and these are: deductive and inductive approaches. Whereas the deductive approach uses predetermined structure to analyse data, the inductive approach involves the use of little or predetermined frameworks. Instead, the inductive approach uses the data itself to extract possible frameworks of the analysis. Burnard et al. (2008) observe that although the inductive approach is laborious and time consuming, it is the suitable approach for analysing data of a study whereby little or nothing is known. They further observe that although interview data contains descriptive accounts, they do not provide any explanations. Therefore, it becomes a responsibility of the researcher to explain the data, compare and contrast it in order to establish relationships between different themes emerging from the data.

Data analysis, according to Wilkinson (2000: 77), helps to ‘bring data together in a meaningful way and enables us as researchers to interpret and make sense of it’. Basically, data analysis is a process of examining the data with an aim of discovering information that can best inform conclusions on a subject under investigation.
Flick (2013: 5) defines qualitative data analysis as:

… the classification and interpretation of linguistic (or visual) material to make statements about implicit and explicit dimensions and structures of meaning-making in the material and what is represented in it. Meaning-making can refer to subjective or social meanings. Qualitative data analysis also is applied to discover and describe issues in the field or structures and processes in routines and practices. Often qualitative data analysis combines approaches of the rough analysis of the material (overview, condensation, summaries) with approaches of a detailed analysis (elaboration of categories, hermeneutic interpretation or identified structure). The final aim is to arrive at generalisable statements by comparing various materials or various texts or several cases.

Lacey and Luff (2001: 3) aptly describe the importance of the analysis of data generated by interviews when they say:

The mass of words generated by interviews or observational data needs to be described and summarised. The question may require the researcher to seek relationships between various themes that have been identified, or to relate behavior or ideas to biological characteristics of respondents such as age or gender. Implications for policy or practice may be derived from the data, or interpretation sought of puzzling findings from previous studies. Ultimate theory could be developed and tested using advanced analytical techniques.

Flick (2013) observes that data analysis is a critical phase in research and that all other decisions and processes are subordinate. Data analysis contributes quite immensely in the process of shaping the outcome of any research work, as it helps in describing the breadth and depth of the phenomenon under investigation, by comparing cases and determining what they have in common or the differences between the cases, and pinpointing conditions underlying the differences. Various research decisions, according to Flick (2013), are driven by the status of data analysis and the types of research questions that are yet to be answered. Flick (2013) further observes that, although data collection seems important, this process is just a way of advancing the analysis of the phenomenon under study.

As alluded to above, the data for this study was analysed using the Thematic Analysis Method. The analysis progressed through several stages and chief among them were the process of familiarisation which involved repeated reading of the entire transcript to identify thematic frameworks emerging from the data and which were later subjected to a refinery process. The identified thematic frameworks were
then applied to data in the process of indexing, using textual codes classifying units of data that corresponded to various themes. Following the indexing was charting, that is the creation of data chart using the headings from the emergent thematic frameworks. Data chart helps in reading across the whole dataset. Two sets of thematic data charts were designed, one for each of the Nigerian and Malawian population with each theme across all the respondents. Key words or shortened quotations were included in the charts to serve as evidence as well as a reminder of what is being discussed. The final important stage of analysis concerned mapping and interpretation. That is, identification of patterns, concepts and other explanations that provided exhaustive information about the phenomenon under investigation.

3.11 Data verification

The United States Environmental Protection Agency (2002) defines data verification as

… the process of evaluating the completeness, correctness, and conformance/compliance of a specific data set against the method, procedural or contractual requirements. Again, the goal of data verification is to ensure and document that the data are what they purport to be, that is, that reported results reflect what was actually done.

As per the definition above, the data verification process entails evaluating the extent to which procedures of data collection, analytical methods, and other documents relating to research planning were followed so as to ensure the correctness of the generated data. According to Morse, Barnet, Mayan, Oslo and Spiers (2002), verification processes must be followed during the actual investigation by the researchers themselves so that issues of reliability and validity can be actively achieved. It involves the researcher ensuring methodological consistency, right sampling decisions and sampling adequacy, the right analytical direction and attainment of saturation. Morse et al. (2002: 17) describe the nature of verification in qualitative inquiry as:

… the process of checking, confirming, making sure, and being certain. In qualitative research, verification refers to the mechanisms used during the process of research to incrementally contribute to ensuring reliability and validity and, thus, the rigor of a study. These mechanisms are woven into every step of the inquiry to construct a solid product by identifying and correcting
errors before they are built into the developing model and before they subvert the analysis.

The responsibility of ensuring verification rests solely on the researcher. This requires the researcher to be open minded. Morse et al. (2002) call this quality in a researcher as ‘investigator responsiveness’. The researcher must be receptive, and willing to abandon any view that is unsubstantiated, despite liking the idea. It is only through the investigator’s superb skills in applying verification strategies, that reliability and validity can be attained. This calls for the researcher to be creative, sensitive and flexible at the same time. Morse et al. (2002), for example, cite the benefit derived from the researcher’s constant analysis of data generated from purposive sampling that it helps in determining the next right set of the participants to be recruited for the study. Researcher’s responsiveness therefore, is key to ensuring reliability and validity in qualitative research.

First among the verification strategies outlined by Morse et al. (2002) is the ‘Methodological Coherence”. This concerns ensuring compatibility between research questions and the methods adopted for the implementation of the study. Morse et al. (2002) note that qualitative research is characterised by the interdependency nature of its processes and phases of operation, and therefore research questions must match the methods, and the methods must be congruent to the type of the intended data and the analytic procedures to be followed thereafter. This congruence however, does not necessarily imply that the research process will be linear, but rather, it simply means that various components must systematically verify and confirm each other.

The second strategy is to ensure the appropriateness of the sample. This can be achieved by seeing to it that the sample contains people with lived experience about the phenomenon under inquiry. The investigator must ensure the efficiency, effectiveness and exhaustiveness of the data in order to account for the reliability of the findings of the study. A suitable sample is likely to lead to quality data and possible saturation of the identified categories. Saturation, according to Morse et al. (2002), not only does it ensure repetition of variables in categories, but it also suggests completeness.
The third verification strategy used in qualitative research, is the simultaneous collection and analysing of data. As previously alluded to, concurrent collection and analysis of data helps in adjusting the sampling plans to include new participants who best can respond to the research question, as the investigator can easily gauge between what is known and that which he or she still wants to know about the phenomenon being investigated. The last verification strategy is to think theoretically in the process of research. Theoretically thinking entails ensuring that emergent ideas from the set of data already gathered, are reconfirmed by the new set of data.

3.12 Data validity and reliability

Whittemore, Chase and Mandle (2001) hint that validity and reliability are standards of quantitative inquiry which were deemed to be the right measuring tape for the quality of a research work, and its use was extended to qualitative inquiry. Whittemore et al. (Op cit.) further comment that because of the incompatibility of the quantitative terms with the tenets of qualitative research, scholars resolve to translate terms such as internal validity to credibility, external validity to transferability and reliability to dependability. According to Whittemore et al. (Op cit.), qualitative inquiry is based on a world view different from that of quantitative inquiry. This being the case, the criteria of internal and external validity implied from quantitative perspective might not be relevant to qualitative research since generalisation is not the main agenda for qualitative research. Whittemore et al. (Op cit.) point out the need to review the notion of validity in a qualitative inquiry and reason that if the term is to be upheld, it should not necessarily acquire a direct translation from the quantitative perspective. Whittemore et al. (Op cit.) however, are quick to point out that qualitative inquiry, just like quantitative, is equally concerned about the importance of ensuring that its research findings are both truthful and justifiable.

Whittemore et al. (2001) argue that qualitative phenomenological research uses different techniques to dispel all the possible threats to validity, and these include the use of appropriate research design, suitable research tools, sampling strategies, observation of saturation point, analytic methods and others. Freeman, Marrais and Preissle (2007: 26) concurs with Whittemore et al. (2001) when they remark that the key source of evidence for validity in qualitative research is ‘… the systemic and
careful documentation of all procedures – an account of practice – to provide a record for the researcher’s on-going contemplation as well as for peer review’.

Guba and Lincoln (1981) call validity and reliability in qualitative inquiry as trustworthiness and argue that qualitative trustworthiness can be achieved by ensuring that the research findings are credible, auditable and confirmable. The relevance and emphasis of validity in qualitative inquiry, according to Lacey and Luff (2001: 22), should be on validity of interpretation. They define comment on validity as follows:

The ability of the findings to represent the truth may not be appropriate if we accept the existence and importance of multiple truths. Rather validity will be judged by the extent to which an account seems to fairly and accurately represent the data collected.

As for reliability, Lacey and Luff (2001) point out that attempts must be made to ensure that findings from the qualitative research are accurate as much as possible, given its nature of subjectivity and the criticism levelled against it. Qualitative reliability, according to Lacey and Luff (2001), is the author’s ability to outline methods used in his or her research and that such methods should have the characteristics of being consistent and reproducible. This includes the description and justification of the research approach, procedures and techniques of sampling of the informants, adoption of specific tools for data collection, ways of transcribing the data, approach and procedures for data analysis, an outline of the entire process of generating concepts, themes or theories from the gathered data.

While some social scientists (Smith, 1984) call for the abandonment of reliability and validity in qualitative research, Morse et al. (2002) contend that validity and reliability terms must be upheld in social research. They argue that the corresponding terms such as Guba and Lincoln’s (1981) trustworthiness sidelines qualitative research from the mainstream science. They explain that, because of the alternative criteria for trustworthiness, researchers have focused on the outcomes of the research rather than demonstrating how verification strategies were followed during research development. It is however imperative to mention that as long as ways of achieving rigor differ between quantitative and qualitative research orientations, the argument
about maintaining statistical terms of validity and reliability in naturalistic/qualitative research, as pursued by Morse et al. (2002), may not hold. Different approaches necessitate different terminologies and therefore, Guba and Lincoln’s (1981) ‘trustworthiness’ as a parallel term for rigor in qualitative research, is well placed and commendable.

Johnson (1997) outlines strategies of ensuring reliability and validity in qualitative research and these are:

a) A researcher being ‘detective’: He/she must look for the evidence about causes and effects in the reported cases. A researcher must develop an understanding of the data through a thoughtful consideration of causes and effects. This may involve applying what he calls ‘low inference descriptors’, which means that the researcher’s description of the data must be linked to participants’ accounts. It also involves a researcher being critical of oneself by ensuring that his/her own biases do not enter the research.

b) Interpretive validity, which involves accurate portraying of the meaning which the informants attach to their experiences, beliefs and attitude. Interpretive validity, according to Johnson (1997), can best be achieved by inviting the participants to provide feedback on the data and the researcher’s interpretation. He asserts that interpretive validity is the most important element of qualitative research, as it helps reveal what he calls ‘participants’ inner worlds’. He beautifully describes it when he says:

Accurate interpretive validity requires the researcher to get inside the heads of the participants, look through the participants’ eyes, and see and feel what they see and feel. In this way, the qualitative researcher can understand things from the participants’ perspectives and provide a valid account of these perspectives.

(Johnson 1997: 285).

c) Another strategy is the theoretical validity. This entails that theoretical explanations that have been developed in the study, match with the empirical data.
d) Internal validity: This has been defined by Johnson (1997: 286) as ‘… the degree to which a researcher is justified in concluding that an observed relationship is causal’.

e) External validity: this is a kind of validity required for generalisation. According to Johnson (1997), it involves randomisation of the sample, and this is hardly achieved in qualitative research, as people and the settings are seldom randomised.

Saniak (2015) outlines 9 types of research bias and she categorises these biases into two main categories, participants and researcher biases. The following are the types of biases in each category. Firstly, the participants research biases:

a) Acquiescence or friendliness bias: this is where a respondent agrees almost with every idea suggested by an interviewee or moderator. This is an effect of an assumption some research respondents may have of thinking that the interviewee is an expert on the subject, hence whatever he/she raises must be an agreeable fact.

b) Social desirability bias: this is where research participants provide answers which they perceive to be socially acceptance. The reason for this is that they might want to portray themselves as good people. According to Saniak (2015), the desirability bias can easily be dealt by indirect questions, which would enable a participant to respond to them as the third party. By so doing, the respondents would project their own feelings into others. In this way, the participants would provide honest answers.

c) Habituation bias: this is a tendency whereby informants provide same answer to different questions that have been worded similarly. To combat this problem, the researcher needs to master the art of knowing how to word various questions differently.

d) Sponsor bias: knowing the sponsor of the research can as also affect the way the informants would respond to the questions.
The above are the biases emanating from the participants, and the following is another set of biases that originate from the researchers themselves:

a) Confirmation bias: this is a kind of bias whereby a researcher forms hypothesis and uses the researchers’ responses to confirm his/her hypothesis about the phenomenon. Through this tendency, the researcher selects only those responses that confirm his/her belief and disregard the rest of the data that appear not to confirm the hypothesis. To avoid this type of a bias, attempts must be made on the part of the researcher to suppress the pre-existing assumptions or beliefs about the problem being investigated. Efforts must be made to subject participants’ responses to a continuous evaluation and re-evaluation processes, instead of jumping to a conclusion prematurely.

b) Culture bias: this is a scenario whereby the researchers’ understanding of the participants’ beliefs, attitudes, views and other experiences, is influenced by his/her own cultural background. This bias can be avoided by observing cultural relativity. That is, the researcher should base his/her analysis and the understanding of the data on the culture of the participants themselves.

c) Question order bias: Saniak (2015) observes that a structural order of one question may influence the answers of subsequent questions. He maintains that oncoming response can be primed by words and ideas in prior questions. This can influence the informants’ thoughts, feelings and attitudes. The solution for this bias, according to Saniak (2015), is to commence the interview with general questions before posing specific questions, unaided before aided question and positive before negative questions.

d) Wording bias and leading question bias: Wording bias involves the researcher’s commentary and elaboration on the responses from the informants. This tendency puts words into respondent mouth, hence it affects the validity and reliability of the research. Leading questions on the other hand, also result in bias. To curb both wording and leading question biases, Saniak (2015) suggests that the researcher should avoid summarizing informants’ responses using his/her own words, but instead, informants’ own words or language should be
used. As for the leading questions, he suggests that attempts must be made by the researcher, to see to it that questions are framed in such a way that respondents are not prompted to adopt some words, phrases or a repeat of the big part of the question wording, while responding to the very same question.

e) The halo effects: this involves passing judgements about a particular participant on the strength of a single positive answer he/she might have given. To resolve this bias, Saniak (2015) advises that a researcher should reflect on his/her assumption about individual respondents. Furthermore, he suggests that researchers must ensure that they finish asking questions about one particular issue or brand before jumping to another issue. This ensures that the informants’ feedback about one question does not erroneously land into another different question.

In light of the above, attempts were made in this study to ensure that the right strategies of safeguarding the trustworthiness of the research were followed. This was achieved by seeing to it that suitable tools, procedures and techniques are used in the sampling of the participants thereby employing a snowballing technique, use of one-on-one interview as an ideal tool for data collection in a phenomenological study and adoption of thematic analysis method as previously outlined. Although the participants’ feedback, as mentioned by Johnson (1997), is considered to be one of the effective strategies of ensuring the validity of the study, this research did not make any attempt to adopt the strategy. As rightly observed by Burnard et al. (2008), going back to the informants and ask them to review the researcher’s interpretation can be problematic. This is because the participants could be tempted to change their mind on certain pieces of data. Change of mind on the part of participants may not necessarily result from the researcher’s wrong interpretation, but rather, it might be driven by changes in situations. A second thought may inform the participants that their previous responses were not socially desirable, hence may feel the need to modify the responses. Burnard et al. (2008) further comment that the respondents may not have a sound academic background to understand the data at this level.

3.13 Summary
The discussion in this chapter focused on research methods that provided a blueprint of the research processes in all stages of its development. The chapter presented an outline of the research approach and design adopted for the study, as it presented a detailed description of the tools and strategies used for the sampling of the participants, data collection and its systematic analysis. Furthermore, the chapter tackled ethical issues that include anonymity, confidentiality and informed consent. An overview of the nature of qualitative validity and reliability was given with outline strategies that can be adhered to, in order to ensure the trustworthiness of the naturalistic research findings. The following chapter focuses on data presentation and analysis.
CHAPTER 4
DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the research methodology used in the study, and this chapter analyses and thematically presents the raw data gathered from the one-on-one interviews with both Malawian and Nigerian participants. The chapter contains two main sections; the first section presents data on Malawian participants while the second section presents data on Nigerian participants. Although the total number of 30 informants, 15 from each of the Malawian and Nigerian participants, were interviewed for this study, only data from 10 interviewees, five from each of the Malawian and Nigerian immigrants is presented. This is because of the repetitive nature of the themes emanating from the analysis of the individual accounts of the interviews and that presentation of the repeated data could have bloated the size of this chapter, hence; making it difficult to reconcile the findings from the individual accounts of interviews.

This chapter presents data on learning strategies, the role of exposure, linguistic distance, motivation, attitude toward the target language and its native speakers, language choice in a multilingual society, the impact of length of residence on destination language acquisition, the best informal teachers, linguistic enclaves, marriage and destination language acquisition, age and L2 acquisition, roles and status of isiZulu, the natives language expectation from the immigrants; and other themes.

In addition to the main data, this chapter does also present the demographic variables of the participants concerning their age on arrival, mother tongue, educational background, year of entry into South Africa and their current activities in the destination country. This information derives from the data collected from 1st February to 20th April 2019. The following subsection presents the demographic variables of the Malawian interviewees.
4.2 Section one

As alluded to in the introduction, section one presents data on Malawian immigrant participants.

4.2.1 Malawian Participants

As indicated in the introduction, 15 informants from the Malawian population of the immigrants were interviewed. The number comprised of 7 women and 8 men. The interviews were conducted in Chiyao and Chichewa. Although one of the female participants described herself as a Lomwe by tribe, she was not a competent speaker of Chilomwe as she spoke Chichewa from childhood, and Chiyao as an older child relocated to a Chiyao dominated district of Mangochi. The two are among the main indigenous languages spoken in Malawi, and Chichewa; besides being a tribal language, it is the country’s lingua-franca as it is spoken almost by every citizen. Chichewa was adopted as the country’s national language during the one-party rule of the former president Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda. The biographic information of the Malawian participants is presented numerically in the following tables.

4.2.1.1 Gender composition

Table 4.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gender composition is key for the findings to be generalised to both male and female language acquirers.

4.2.1.2 Age on arrival

Table 4.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 - 25</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 - 30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The age variable was included so as to ensure that the acquirers are adults, and not children.

### 4.2.1.3 Linguistic Profile of the participants

Table 4.3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chiyao</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chichewa</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chilomwe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>15</td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The linguistic profile of the participants was included to determine the distance between their mother tongue and the target destination language.

### 4.2.1.4 Educational background

Table 4.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergraduate</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postgraduate</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>15</td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The educational variable was included to determine its influence on language acquisition.

### 4.2.1.5 Current major activities

Table 4.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labor force</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small business</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>15</td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The activity variable was added to determine its effect on destination language acquisition.

4.3. Main data from the Malawian interviewees

This section presents empirical data from the Malawian interviewees. This will be done without the researcher engaging the data in a narrative discourse and interpretation; as such engagement will feature in the subsequent dedicated chapter on discussion. The entire sets of the data were presented in italics in order to emphasize that they are direct submissions from the informants.

4.3.1 Roles of isiZulu

*Interviewer:* What roles does isiZulu play in your life?

*Interviewee:* It facilitates communication. It is an easy language to learn for people from countries such as Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and Tanzania. If you have a police case, your knowledge of isiZulu would make life easy for those helping you compiling a statement, unlike when you try to do so using your limited English. Sometimes one could be implicated in a case which initially would not involve him/her, but due to inability to present a comprehensible argument, one would fall into a serious problem.

...you can easily ask for a direction if you know the language. It also helps to access health facilities such clinics and hospitals. Sometimes you fail to get the right treatment due to language barrier between you and those prescribing the treatment.

As a foreigner, isiZulu does also help me when I want to enrol my children in school. The other benefit is that through it, one will have access to native knowledge which could hardly be accessed in English. Even during the times of xenophobic attacks that took place in the country, some foreigners were shielded by some natives on the strength of their competence in local languages, as the natives were certain that such people would not be discovered by the perpetrators of xenophobic attacks because of their competence in the native language. (*Interviewee no. 3, male*)

*Interviewee:* …mmm, I can give you an example. Last year (2018), I was travelling from Durban to Johannesburg in a Kombi and at Montrose, an announcement was made that those who are travelling direct to Johannesburg Park Station should remain in the Kombi and
those going to another place which I cannot remember, were told to jump into another bus. There was a male sitting next to me, who looked confused as he did not understand the announcement made in isiZulu. I had to explain to him in English that this is what they are saying.

... Additionally, the knowledge of isiZulu is also helpful when you meet the police. If you are able to express yourself in isiZulu they let you go.

**Interviewer**: Thank you very much for making time and accepting my request to participate, but before we close the interview, is there anything else you would like me to know with regard to your journey of learning isiZulu?

**Interviewee**: Mmmm..., I realised that if you do not know the language, even proposing love becomes difficult. You cannot just start proposing immediately without first going into a conversation with the potential lover.

**Interviewer**: So how do you propose in isiZulu?

**Interviewee**: kkkkkkk (laughter), you first greet her ‘sawubona’ [hello], she would respond by saying ‘yebo’ [yes], or you can say “kunjani?” [how are you?], she would respond ‘Ngiyaphila, kunjani?’ [ I am good and you?]. You can continue asking ‘uhlalaphi?’ [where do you stay?]. Because you intend to propose, and it is difficult to go for it directly, you first soften her with some praises such as ‘wena umuhle, ngicela unginike i-number yakho’ [You are so cute, would you mind sharing your cell phone number]. So, if she likes you, she would share her number and then you would know that it is a done deal. (*Interviewee* no. 2, male)

### 4.3.2 Status of isiZulu

**Interviewer**: How important is isiZulu?

**Interviewee**: It is a very important language for communication. As you know, each and every place has its own common language, and here it is isiZulu. Even them (locals) they do ask us ‘uma ngihambe ekhaya lakho ngifune ngi-connecte ne omunye, yini yi-language yakho?’ [If I come to your country, what language can I use to communicate?] (*Interviewee* no. 4, female).

You can speak to a South African who is not a Zulu using isiZulu, still he/she will understand you because it is a common language. (*Interviewee* no. 3, Male).

**Interviewer**: Tell us about your first encounter with isiZulu?
Interviewee: eeeee!!!, it was difficult my brother, I could not speak, and people used to laugh at me in those days. Luckily, when I came I enrolled at one of the high schools in Kempton Park and my friends used to teach me isiZulu.

Interviewer: Tell me why it was isiZulu and no other languages spoken here in Johannesburg?

Interviewee: This school had a high enrolment number of black students coming from Tembisa township. They were mostly speakers of Setswana but used to tell me that they will teach me isiZulu because it is easier than Setswana and is commonly used so that once I know it, I can easily communicate with everybody.

...In South Africa however, many people communicate using isiZulu. I work with Setswana and Sepedi speaking people, but when talking to me they use isiZulu and I do not know what could be the reason for this, may be is because isiZulu is a linking language, because even the policemen when they want to question you, they would immediately use isiZulu (Interview no. 5, male).

4.3.3 Language expectation of natives from the black immigrants

Interviewer: What really triggered you to start learning isiZulu?

Interviewee: Most South Africans I have met speak isiZulu and if you try talking to them using English they refuse. They would say, they are not white people and that they cannot speak English with a fellow black person.

Interviewer: Do you remember exactly how they used to say it in isiZulu?

Interviewee: kkkkkkkkk (laughter), they would say ‘ungangikhulumisi isilungu’ [don’t speak to me in white man’s language] (Interview no. 4, female).

Interviewer: Can you tell us something about your first encounter with isiZulu?

Interviewee: When I came to South Africa, it was difficult to communicate with people. Whenever I tried to use my limited English, the local South Africans used to tell me that they are not white people, so, I must not speak white people’s language.

Interviewer: Were they responding in English or isiZulu?
Interviewee: They would never respond in English even though some of them were proficient in English. They would say in Zulu “Ngicela ukhulumne isiZulu akena wena mlungu” [kindly, speak isiZulu because you are not a white man] (Interviewee no. 2, male).

…You see, when I entered South Africa, my English was not that bad, but whenever I spoke to them (locals) in English, they responded in Zulu. Sometimes they could ask me “do I look like a white man?” (Interviewee no 5, male).

4.3. 4 Determinants of language proficiency.

Questions asked in this section have been intended to capture key determinants of destination language acquisition such as exposure, marriage, linguistic enclaves, motivation, acquisition efficiency and attitude.

4.3.4.1 Exposure

Interviewer: What really helped you to start picking up some isiZulu?

Interviewee: As I said earlier, I learn isiZulu by interacting with the customers who come to buy airtime, data bundles or seek any other MTN services (Interviewee no. 1, female).

Interviewer: Where exactly did you start making some progress in isiZulu?

Interviewee: I started learning isiZulu from my work place. We were a mixed team of Malawians and the local South Africans.

Interviewer: What is it that you knew about isiZulu before coming to South Africa?

Interviewee: I knew some words, such as ‘mfana, bhuti, and kusasa, etc’ [a boy/a guy, brother, tomorrow] while I was still in Malawi.

Interviewer: How did you know such words?

Interviewee: I used to hear them from friends who had lived in South Africa. Sometimes they could speak isiZulu among themselves just to show off that they are well travelled (Interviewee no. 2, male)

Interviewer: How did your improvements in isiZulu come about?

Interviewee: I had a Ndebele friend from Zimbabwe from whom I learned a lot about this language as we interacted using isiZulu.
**Interviewer:** What is the connection between Ndebele and isiZulu?

**Interviewee.** I think these people originally are from South Africa; and for whatever reasons, they went to settle in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. Their language is the same as isiZulu and that is why they find it easy (linguistically) when they come to South Africa.

... while still in Malawi, I used to hear friends saying that in South Africa, the greeting expression is ‘kunjani?’ [how are you]. They used to advise us that in order to be able to communicate with people you will have to learn isiZulu. Greetings such as ‘Sanibonani’ [hello], I knew them from Malawi before coming to South Africa. When I came here, and while I was still new in the country, a customer walked into our car wash and greeted us “sanibonani”. I did not respond because despite knowing the greeting, I did not know how to respond. However, my workmates responded by saying ‘yebo’ [yes]. If he said ‘kunjani’, I could have responded ‘ngiyaphila’ [I am fine]; because I knew how to respond to this one. I could guess though that it was a plural greeting since all my workmates responded to the client concurrently (Interviewee no. 4, female).

4.3.4.2. Marriage and destination language acquisition

**Interviewer:** Some people claim that one has to marry a local female in order to master the target language. What is your take on this?

**Interviewee:** Marriage is a big decision, but as I said, through a relationship, one can still learn the language. With your partner, you will spend most of your time learning and there will be a point when your partner would advise you not to use any other language besides isiZulu. Even with the words you already know, if she wants you to perfect the language, she would repeatedly pronounce them for you twice or thrice (Interviewee no. 2, male).

**Interviewer:** Some people allege that one has to marry or at least be in a co-habital relationship with the local South African female to be able to master the target language. What is your take on this one?

**Interviewee:** Yes, it is possible to master the language through your partner, however, it will also depend on whether your marital partner is interested in passing the language to you or not. Again, your personal interest counts. It is also possible that instead of you benefitting linguistically from her, she might be the one mastering your language. I know of a Malawian man married to a Xhosa woman, and the wife is now a proficient speaker of both Chiyao and Chichewa, while the
husband is still grappling to learn isiXhosa. Since you indicated that you do not mention people’s names in the research, otherwise, I would have given you the name and address of that family for you to get first-hand information (Interviewee no. 3, male).

4.3.4.3 Linguistic enclaves

Interviewee: …my only problem is that I spend most of my time with fellow country men and women, hence I fail to reach the required level. If I had an opportunity to work with isiZulu speaking people, even for five months only, I could easily master the language and be able to converse (Interviewee no. 1, female).

Interviewer: What practices in your view do you perceive to promote or inhibit the acquisition of isiZulu?

Interviewee: I can mention one thing; that is, do not isolate yourself from the local people. Even in the case of having a bad experience with some of them, do not cut off completely and brand all of them as bad. You should try to associate yourself with them and avoid only those you may have some doubts on them. The other thing is that, do not be shy or afraid to speak the target language (Interviewee no. 3, male).

4.3.4.4 Language Motivation

Interviewer: Why is it important to acquire isiZulu?

Interviewee: Here in South Africa, you need isiZulu to be able to communicate with the locals. Furthermore, you can only make friendship with the local people if you speak isiZulu and not English (Interviewer no. 1, female).

Interviewer: What was your motive for learning isiZulu?

Interviewee: I wanted to be comfortable among the isiZulu speaking people (Interviewee no. 5, female).

Interviewee: … being a foreigner, isiZulu enables me to communicate with the indigenous South Africans (Interviewee no. 2, male).

4.3.5 Language acquisition efficiency

As pointed out by Van Tubergen (2010) in section 2.8.3 of the literature review, efficiency has no direct measures, hence scholars resort to using assumption bridges such as the determining of the effect of age on arrival, the duration one
remains in the destination country, prior education and linguistic distance. Presented below are the empirical data sets on these variables.

4.3.5.1 Age and L2 acquisition

*Interviewer*: Would you encourage your kids to learn isiZulu?

*Interviewee*: Children, even without encouraging them, are good in picking up languages on their own. This is because they interact well with their peers. For example, my children attend a multiracial school and they have acquired so many languages from their peers. I hear them sometimes speaking isiZulu and even Setswana. I have never taught them these languages nor encouraged them to learn them. Here in this building of ours, we share flats with Somali people, and my children can competently converse in the Somali language. So, you do not necessarily teach them, but they acquire them through their peers (*Interviewee no. 5, male*).

*Interviewee*: ... children learn isiZulu better and faster than adults simply because they feel free to interact with their peers in school and outside school environments. They do not feel shy to speak the little they know about the target language nor get afraid of ridicule; should they commit errors. They have softer tongues compared to adults (*Interviewee no. 4, female*).

... children are good in learning new languages. They are quick to master the new languages because of their openness to each other. They do not feel shy to speak the language nor get afraid of ridicule should they commit errors. Above all, children love each other and can teach one another without any annoyances (*Interviewee no. 1, female*).

4.3.5.2 Linguistic distance

*Interviewer*: What similarities are there between isiZulu and Malawian languages such as Chichewa and Chiyao?

*Interviewee*: We make mistakes in isiZulu simply because it is a sovereign language altogether, however, so many similarities exist between isiZulu and Malawian languages such as Chichewa and Chiyao.

*Interviewer*: What are the examples of such similarities?

*Interviewee*: I have plentiful examples. An isiZulu word ‘umuntu’ [human being], is equivalent to a Chichewa word ‘munthu’ or even a
Chiyao word ‘mundu’. In isiZulu, water is called ‘amanzi’, while in Chichewa is known as ‘madzi’ and in Chiyao ‘mesi’. In Chichewa, a tooth is called ‘dzino’ and in Chiyao they call it ‘lino’, while the Zulu call it ‘izinyo’ (Interviewee no. 5, male).

**Interviewer:** What similarities are there between isiZulu and Malawian languages such as Chichewa or Chiyao?

**Interviewee:** There are some similarities. For example, the isiZulu word ‘izolo’ [yesterday], its Chichewa equivalent is ‘dzulo’. There are many words that are similar, but I do not remember them now (Interviewee no. 2, Male).

**Interviewer:** What are the similarities between isiZulu and your mother tongue Chiyao or Chichewa as Malawi’s national language?

**Interviewee:** There are similarities, for example, when they say ‘vula umnyango’ [open the door] or ‘vala umnyango’, [close the door]. The words ‘vula’ and ‘vala’ are very close to Chichewa, despite that in Chichewa ‘vula’ would mean [undress] while ‘vala’ would mean [dress up]. The word ‘umnyango’ [door] is close to a Chiyao noun ‘nlango’ which means entrance (Interviewee no. 1, female).

**Interviewer:** What similarities are there between Chichewa and isiZulu?

**Interviewee:** There are some words in Chichewa that are similar to isiZulu when I listen to the two languages. For example, when they say ‘ufunani’ [what do you want?], the Chichewa equivalent is ‘ukufuna chani?’ The two expressions mean the same thing and sound similar. An isiZulu word ‘inyama’ [meat] is equivalent to a Chichewa word ‘nyama’ and there are many words in this regard (Interviewee no. 4, female).

4.3.5.3 Length of residence

**Interviewer:** Does long stay in the host country predicts proficiency in the target language?

**Interviewee:** No, it does not. what matters is your passion and intelligence (Interviewee no. 4, female).

**Interviewee:** No, long stay does not necessarily mean one would be more proficient in the language than the new comer. It depends on how good one is in associating with the locals. For example, I have friends here who came long before me, people like ...... and ...... (names deliberately omitted by the researcher), they have been in the country for many years, but they cannot match me in isiZulu. Because of the nature of their work, those brothers associate more with Indians and
whites, while in my work I interact more with the indigenous South Africans (Interviewee no. 5, male).

Interviewee: Long stay does not mean one would know the language much better that the new comer. What matters is how flexible one’s tongue is; in learning a new language. One can learn a language in three months or a year (Interview no. 1, female).

No. Again, it would depend on where the person lives and with who does he/she spend most of his/her times. If one lives with the local South Africans, because they like their languages, a person will have no option but to learn the language and will do so faster unlike when he/she lives with fellow countrymen (Interviewee no. 3, male).

4.3.5.4 Educational background

Interviewer: Does one’s high levels of education correlate to high levels of language performance?

Interviewee: Not at all, I have seen people who are well educated, but they are not able even to ask for a direction in isiZulu. On the other hand, there are those who are not learned but learn the language better. As I have stated earlier, those who do not have an alternative language, see to it that they learn the dominant language as soon as possible so that they can be able to communicate with others (Interviewee no. 3, male).

In my view, no. As I said earlier, it all depends on the flexibility of one’s tongue (Interviewee no. 1, female).

No, education do not have any impact on acquisition of isiZulu. One can be a holder of master’s degree, but this will not make him/her become good in the language. These are two different things (Interviewee no. 5, male).

Education can help you learn isiZulu in the sense that you can be able to inquire something you do not know through the medium of English (Interviewee no. 2, male).

4.3.6 Malawians attitude toward the natives

Interviewer: How would you describe the native speakers of isiZulu and the black South Africans in general?

Interviewee: Well, I can say there are those who are good, and some are not that good. The good ones are friendly; however, the same
people can turn to be bad depending on how you relate to them (Interviewee no 4, female).

... majority of them are good people, of course, at times you meet those who are naughty, but they are very few (Interviewee no. 2, male).

Mmm, not all the people can be good or bad. There are those who are good and those who are not. It is a normal thing. Even in the family, siblings from the same father and mother would still fight. So, we would be wrong to label all South Africans as bad or good people. Yes, as foreigners, we label them as bad people because some of them call us names such as kwerekwere and the like. But despite calling us names, we live with them side by side for many years now. Name calling happens even at the family level. Back in our country, we used to mock people coming from other districts or regions to settle in our village, but in the long run, the very same people could come and marry our own sisters, it is normal (Interviewee no. 5, male).

There will always be two types of people, those who are open and friendly, and the opposite of that. Some of them are really very good, they can sit and talk to you with love and care, and one could feel welcomed (Interviewee no.1, female).

Interviewer: How would you describe the tendency by some native speakers of isiZulu of compelling black foreigners to speak their language?

Interviewee: It might be seen as they are being selfish; however, I think their aim is to ensure that Africans are unified through the use of the common dominant language. Our cultural differences could easily be reconciled through the use of a dominant language. If we speak the same language, we will all look as equal citizens without being subjected to connotations of foreignness. As foreigners, we can only realise the benefit when we speak the language, else we will perceive them to be selfish (Interviewee no.3, male).

4.3.7 Language Choice

Interviewer: Why did you choose isiZulu out of many other indigenous languages spoken in Johannesburg?

Interviewee: In contrast to other languages that involve too much dragging of the tongue, I find isiZulu easy to learn (Interviewee no.1, Female).
Interviewee: ... it was imperative for me to learn one of the South African native languages and it happened that the easiest and the widely used language is isiZulu (Interviewee no. 5, male).

4.3.8 The best informal teachers of isiZulu

Interviewer: Who do you consider to be the best teachers of isiZulu between men and women, boys and girls?

Interviewee: Women are more friendly, open and willing to interact with, than men. South African women regard Malawians as peaceful people (Interviewee no.4, Female).

Interviewee: Firstly, I would say mature women from the age of 40 upwards. They help you learn the language better; as they are willing to guide you. Secondly, younger women; especially if you are in a relationship, they can help you learn a language better. (Interviewee no. 2, male).

Interviewee: It is difficult to tell in this country because all South Africans are proud of their indigenous languages. They do not shy away from using these languages, and whoever you are in contact with, will ensure that you learn his or her language. It all depends on the type of relationship existing between the two of you (Interviewee no.3, male).

4.3.9 Language learning strategies

Interviewee: ... from here; I started memorising some isiZulu expressions and recalling such utterances whenever I encountered an isiZulu speaking client. When a customer asks for something in isiZulu, I could easily remember the expressions used by the previous client and be able to assist the current customer accordingly (Interviewee no. 1, female).

Interviewee: I could pick up the object I wanted to know and ask them what it is called in isiZulu. In some instances, one could point at something while mentioning its name and ask you to bring it to him or her. An hour later, if someone asks for it again, you could easily remember it (Interviewee no.2, male).

Interviewee: Whenever I heard them talking, I used to exchange my knowledge of Chichewa with isiZulu words, by relating them. Secondly,
if I miss out on something completely, I used to ask my colleagues and memorise the answer immediately (Interviewee no.4, female).

**Interviewee:** In the beginning, I used to write up some notes, or they could write for me, but late on, I was relying on my memory, in fact, language leaning depends on memorisation (Interviewee no.5, male).

... I even had a notebook to write in for future reference. Sometimes I could pick a new word from a song and search for its meaning (Interviewee no.3, male).

### 4.3.10 Best Practices

**Interviewer:** What practices do you perceive to promote or inhibit acquisition?

**Interviewee:** You must attempt to speak the language regularly in order to improve your pronunciation, because if you do not speak the language, then none would correct you, and therefore, you are likely to remain incorrected (Interviewee no.3, male).

**Interviewee:** The first thing is that you must not be shy, whether they laugh at you if you commit an error or not. Secondly, you should try to associate with the locals and be close to them even if they tease and call you a foreigner, do not cut off completely (Interviewee no.5, male).

I used to ensure that I speak isiZulu whenever I go buy something from the shops owned by the locals. I could greet the shop attendant or owner ‘sawubona sis / bhuti’ [hello sister /brother?], and then ask ‘uthengisa yini lapha?’ [what are you selling here?] Through such interactions, I could also pick up a new word or phrase that means the same as a word or a phrase I knew. For example, in my question ‘uyathengisa yini lapha?’, some could respond ‘yebo, siyadayisa’ [yes, we do (sell)]. Phrases ‘siyadayisa’ and ‘siyathengisa’ mean the same (Interviewee no.4, female).

### 4.3.11 Order of acquisition

**Interviewer:** What order did you follow when learning the language?

**Interviewee:** Firstly, I started with greetings and then names of things and thereafter, I started observing movement of the tongue to be able to come up with appropriate pronunciation. Now I can speak the
language and very few can tell that I am a foreigner. Mostly, I used to interact with girls because boys, mmm! they were not comfortable (Interviewee no. 5, male).

**Interviewer:** What are the kinds of words or expressions you first encountered in the process of learning isiZulu?

**Interviewee:** Expressions such as ‘kunjani sisi? / ikhona i-airtime?/ Ngicela i-airtime’ [How are you sister? / Do you have airtime? / I want airtime]. I respond by saying ‘Ngiyaphila, wena unjani?’ [I am fine and you?]. ‘Yebo, ikhona’ [Yes, I have]. I go on to ask ‘Ufuna yamalini’? [for how much?] and they respond accordingly. Some would say at the end ‘Ngibongile’ [Thanks], and I say ‘Ngibongile nami’ [Thank you too]. Majority of the local people who come to buy airtime, would speak to you in Zulu. If the conversation is prolonged and I run out of words, that is the only time I let them know that I am not a competent speaker of the language (Interviewee no.1, female).

When I first joined the company, I did not know how to name scissors in isiZulu. later on, my friends told me that it is called ‘isikele’.

**Interviewer:** What are other words you learned and commonly used at work?

**Interviewee:** words such “izimbobo” [holes] and “izinkinobo” [buttons], as sometimes they could ask us to punch some holes for buttons on the newly sewn clothes (Interviewee no. 2, Male).

### 4.3.12 Proficiency and language purism

**Interviewer:** Is it out of humbleness that you do not want to indicate that you are an excellent speaker of isiZulu?

**Interviewee:** Hahahaha! {laughter}, you know; languages are problematic. Even for native Zulus who have been raised in Johannesburg, when they travel to KwaZulu-Natal they realise that certain aspects of their isiZulu become questionable. In view of this, I cannot claim to be excellent in this language. There are varieties of languages spoken here in Johannesburg which influence the quality of isiZulu (Interviewee no. 2, male).

**Interviewer:** Why do you not see yourself as an excellent speaker of isiZulu?
Interviewee: No, you have to be a typical Zulu to be excellent in isiZulu.

Interviewer: Have you been in a situation whereby you speak the language and the locals detect that you are not a Zulu or local?

Interviewee: Yes, but not everyone. Only deep Zulus can sometimes tell me that you are not Zulu, but you are very good in the language.

Interviewer: But how do they know that you are not a native speaker?

Interviewee: They discover it through the tongue. IsiZulu, just like IsiXhosa is a click language. So, we expose ourselves through our inability to produce these clicks since our languages of origin lack these features (Interviewee no. 5, male).

4.3.13 Reported competency

Interviewer: How would you rate your level of isiZulu with regard to the following:

a) Very well
b) Well
c) Not well
d) Not at all

Interviewee: I think I fit at option b.

Interviewer: What is your ability in isiZulu with regard to the following:

a) Does not speak nor understands
b) Does not speak but understands some isiZulu
c) Speaks and understands well
d) I am excellent.

Interviewee: I can understand and speak isiZulu but cannot claim to be excellent in the language (Interviewee no. 3, male).

Interviewer: What is your ability in isiZulu with regard to the following:

a) Does not speak nor understands
b) Does not speak but understands some isiZulu
c) Speaks and understands well
d) I am excellent

**Interviewee:** I can understand well but speak very little.

**Interviewer:** What do you mean by ‘very little?’

**Interviewee:** Although I can speak the basic isiZulu, I am not able to hold and finish the long conversation in isiZulu.

**Interviewer:** If you were to rate your level of proficiency in isiZulu, what would be your level with regard to the following?

a) Very well  
   b) Well  
   c) Not well  
   d) Not at all.

**Interviewee:** I think I can be at level 2, well (Interviewee no. 1, female)

**Interviewer:** What is your ability in isiZulu with regard to the following:
   a) Does not speak nor understand it  
   b) Does not speak but understands it.  
   c) Speaks and understands it well  
   d) I am excellent

**Interviewee:** I can understand and speak isiZulu without any problem (Interviewee no. 2, male).

**Interviewer:** What is your ability in isiZulu with regard to the following:

a) Does not understand isiZulu nor speak  
   b) Does not speak but understands it.  
   c) Understands and speak it well.  
   d) I am excellent.

**Interviewee:** I think I can fit well at option C. I can understand isiZulu and speak it as well. But I cannot claim to know it well because I am still learning the language.

**Interviewer:** How would you rate yourself with regard to your knowledge of isiZulu?
a) Very well  
b) Well  
c) Not well  
d) Not at all

*Interviewee*: I can rate myself with option b, (*Interviewee no. 4, female*).

*Interviewer*: What is your isiZulu ability with regard to the following

- a) Does not speak nor understand  
- b) Does not speak but understand some isiZulu  
- c) Speaks and understand  
- d) I am excellent

*Interviewer*: I am at level C, can speak and understand isiZulu (*Interviewee no. 5, male*).

### 4.3.14 Definition of Linguistic Competency

*Interviewer*: Are you satisfied with your current level of isiZulu?

*Interviewee*: No, I am not. I wish I can improve and be able to converse in isiZulu (*Interviewee no. 1, female*).

*Interviewee*: I am not satisfied, one can only claim to be excellent in a particular language if he/she is able to understand the idioms and proverbs of that language without seeking interpretation (*Interviewee no. 5, male*).

### 4.4 SECTION TWO

This section, as indicated in the section 4.1 under introduction, presents both the main data as well as demographic profile on the Nigerian participants.

#### 4.4.1 Nigerian Participants

Just as the case with Malawians, a total of 15 (7 women and 8 men) Nigerian nationals were sampled and interviewed. The interviews were conducted in English as all the participants were fluent in the language. The following tables present demographic information of the informants.
4.4.1.1 Gender Composition
Table 4.6

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4.4.1.2 Age on arrival
Table 4.7

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4.4.1.3 Linguistic Profile
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4.4.1.4 Educational background
Table 4.9

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4.4.1.5 Current activities
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4.5 Main data from Nigerian participants

The following subsections present the main data obtained from the Nigerian interviewees, and these are: status of isiZulu, language expectation on natives from black immigrants, determinants of language destination, original societal multilingualism and destination language acquisition and competency in isiZulu.

4.5.1 Status of isiZulu

**Interviewer:** Which South African native language would you claim to have some knowledge of it?

**Interviewee:** It is isiZulu

**Interviewer:** Why isiZulu?

**Interviewee:** I used to hear Afrikaans speaking friends communicating with the locals in Zulu, expressions such as “sanibonani?”, “kunjani?”, etc. I learnt Zulu greetings from them, and as I go out and meet black South Africans, I greet them in the same way I heard these coloured people greeting (Interviewee no. 6, female).

Most people here speak Zulu, but I prefer Setswana and Sepedi, because I like their way. Maybe it has to do with the kind of experience when I first came in (Interviewee no. 10, male).

Lately, I have been thinking myself personally, that it would be better for an African country to have a uniting language whereby everybody can communicate like we communicate in English. English is not our language. We borrowed it from the Western culture, like the white people gave us their language and they use it to communicate
universally in their own Western world. So, if Zulu in South Africa can be placed and practiced as a unifying language, I think it will help a lot. People can easily speak one language and be able to understand one another (Interviewee no. 8, female).

4.5.2 The Language expectation of natives from the black immigrants

Interviewer: What is your experience with isiZulu?

Interviewee: Most of them [the locals] presume that you are also from here, so, the first thing they would speak is their local language, and they would expect you to respond. When you respond in English, some of them start acting funny (Interviewee no. 9, male).

Interviewee: I think many people here, especially here in Johannesburg, expect you to comprehend and speak the language. Sometimes when they approach you, they would say ‘sanibonani’, ‘kunjani?’; or speak one part of the language. They think..., I do not know, they expect you to understand (Interviewee no. 7, male).

Interviewee: Immediately they see your colour that you are black, then they will greet you “kunjani baba?”. Somehow, I like it as I feel that they are proud of their language. The other experience I had was in taxi rank, Bree or MTN. When you ask for something in English, it seems as if you have committed an abomination, the way they look at you, you would feel like running away. They would be speaking their language to you while you do not understand them. They tell you, but you should know the language, and I tell them I am a foreigner (Interviewee no. 10, male).

4.5.3 Determinants of language proficiency

This section presents key determinants of destination language acquisition and these include: exposure, motivation, variables of efficiency, the best isiZulu teachers and original societal multilingualism and destination language acquisition

4.5.3.1 Exposure

Interviewer: Where and how often do you hear isiZulu being spoken?

Interviewee: Almost every day because I interact with many locals here at my business. They would greet you ‘kunjani?’, and if you respond in English, they would act funny.
**Interviewer:** Where else besides your business place do you often hear people speaking isiZulu?

**Interviewee:** For me, I would say, it is only here because I use a personal car. So, I do not enter public transport and I live alone and where I stay I do not mingle with neighbours (Interviewee no. 9, male).

**Interviewee:** Generally, like everywhere you go, in busses, taxi, in streets and shops, many people speak the language (Interviewee no. 8, female).

**Interviewer:** What are the languages commonly used by people around you?

**Interviewee:** The major language used is English and the second one is Zulu. I do not know why most people like speaking isiZulu in Johannesburg (Interviewee no. 7, male).

### 4.5.3.2 Motivation

**Interviewer:** What is the importance of learning isiZulu?

**Interviewee:** Yea, respect is a prerequisite, when you have to respect people, you have to respect their culture and language. If you really want to show that you respect the people, then you must speak their language (Interviewee no. 8, female).

**Interviewee:** It is important. If I speak, it could help me to mingle more with the locals, and they would accept me more if I speak their language (Interviewee no. 9, male).

### 4.5.3.3 Efficiency

#### 4.5.3.3.1 Age and L2 acquisition

**Interviewer:** Who, in your view, acquire a second language better and faster between adults and children?

**Interviewee:** Because they go to school and interact with friends, they easily pick up the language. My children for example speak Afrikaans because they go to a Model C school, and I realise that most of the Model C schools are Afrikaans inclined. They are not good in other native languages because they are not exposed to them, and I stay in
a coloured area in Westdene. Although they speak Afrikaans, myself I do not understand Afrikaans (Interviewee no. 10, male).

**Interviewee**: Children will learn the language faster, because they are still children and will mix with other children. Moreover, they will be going to the same school where fellow native speakers of the target language go, and it is easy for them to learn. Furthermore, in school they will be made to choose either Afrikaans or isiZulu as additional language subject. Children have the influence to learn faster than adults because school language subjects are compulsory, and the teachers will be there to assist them learn the language. So, friends and schooling are key in their success (Interviewee no. 6, female).

**Interviewee**: You cannot compare children and adults in as far as language learning is concerned. Children are always good in learning new languages than adults. They mix well with their peers and because of this language learning becomes easy for them (Interviewee no. 9, male).

4.5.3.3.2 Linguistic and the socio-cultural distance

**Interviewer**: What similarities are there between isiZulu and Yoruba?

**Interviewee**: kkkkk (laughter), the two are incomparable. There are no similarities between the two languages, nothing at all. We differ in many aspects; culture, food, dressing, the way we talk and even behavior.

**Interviewer**: What is it you find in isiZulu to be close to Yoruba when you hear them talking?

**Interviewee**: Nothing. It is not even close. If they speak to me I tell them please, can you speak English (Interviewee no. 6, female).

**Interviewer**: What similarities are there between isiZulu and Igbo?

**Interviewee**: There are no similarities at all. They sound so different (Interviewee no. 9, male)

**Interviewee**: It is not easy for me to notice similarities between Ibo and Zulu. The only thing I know to be similar between our language and this language is that it is a tribal language used by a particular tribe. But when it comes to word-to-word, it has not been easy for me to align them (Interviewee no. 7, male).
Interviewee: No, there are no similarities. The only similar word is ‘baba’ because this word is universal. You know, their language has a lot of clicks which makes it difficult (Interviewee no. 10, male).

Interviewer: What similarities are there between Edo and isiZulu?

Interviewee: There are no similarities between the two, they are completely different languages (Interviewee no. 8, female).

4.5.3.3.3 Length of residence

Interviewer: Does long stay in the country correlate to one being more proficient in the target language? Explain.

Interviewee: It is not about the longer you stay, it is about interest. If you are not interested in something, you can even stay 30 years, you will not be able to understand a bit of language. A newcomer within few months can be able to speak the language fluently because of interest in people and the language (Interviewee no. 8, female).

No, language learning is not about how many years you have spent in the country, it is about interest. If you are a fast learner, then you can learn faster than someone who has been here for 20 years or above. You see, is a question of a fast learner and a slow learner, not about how many years you have spent here. Years do not matter in language learning (Interviewee no.9, Male).

No, it depends on individual’s willingness to learn the language and not a mere number of years one spends in the country (Interviewee no. 7, male).

No, it depends on interest and where you stay, but interest is the main catalyst. You can learn a language in a year; two or three (Interviewee no. 10, male).

It is about an individual, you can be here for some months or a year; and you can still learn the language. it depends on how you adapt yourself and be friendly to people (Interviewee no.6, Female).

4.5.3.3.4 Educational background

Interviewer: What impact does one’s educational background have on learning of isiZulu?
Interviewee: Language has nothing to do with education, whether you are a doctor, a lawyer, or whatever field of specialty. It is only when you are interested you can learn it (Interviewee no. 8, female).

Interviewee: Mmm! once you have an alternative you would want to go for a short cut. My friends in Malaysia and some European countries tell me that living in those countries, there was no way they could have survived without learning the destination languages (Interviewee no. 10, male).

Interviewee: I do not think it has any impact at all (Interviewee no. 7, male).

4.5.4 Nigerians Attitude toward the natives and their language

Interviewer: What roles do isiZulu play in your life?

Interviewee: Ok…ok , like I am a foreigner, am a Nigerian, in this country if you do not understand their language, they cannot associate with you. They have racism among them. As long I am here, I should try to learn it. If you ask me about the usefulness of it to me, I can tell you that it is not that useful to me as long I have other visions than remaining here in South Africa. At least Afrikaans can be more important because it is also spoken in other countries. IsiZulu has no advantage to me as a foreigner, it is just a privilege that I am here

Interviewer: Do you make any attempt to learn the language?

Interviewee: I do not need it.

Interviewer: If you had a school going child, would you allow him/her to learn the language?

Interviewee: Not isiZulu, but at least Afrikaans (Interviewee no. 6, female).

Interviewee: The locals here because of what they had gone through, I may not judge them, but that mindset is still there. They do not really love foreigners, you know. Even that person you marry as your wife in house, also has that little bit of hatred when it comes to foreigners. So, it will take them time to heal and welcome foreigners and see them as people created by one God (Interviewee no. 9, male).
**Interviewer:** What could be the reason for isiZulu dominance in Johannesburg?

**Interviewee:** Generally, because KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) is close to Gauteng, they are now trying to colonize this place. They are the ones who own the taxi industry, so, because of that influence, they are now trying to make their impact felt. Another thing is that wherever they may be, they are lousy, very lousy people and want to take over.

What I have noted is that most South Africans have not travelled, and that is why they have that type of opinion that anyone who is black should speak Zulu. Another thing is that their apartheid experience seems to inform their judgement. I do not want to judge, but you see, the disposition of people makes you want to learn their language or not. When you can call somebody a friend, then nothing can stop you from being influenced by that person and learn his or her language (Interviewee no. 10, male).

**Interviewee:** I know that the Zulus are the biggest tribe in the SA, you cannot avoid them. Anywhere you go in SA, you meet them. So, they are cool people, I have some friends who are Zulu. I do not know, some people think that those that are running taxis are only Zulus and therefore, they generalise that the Zulus are violent. I do not see them as violent, they are accommodating (Interviewee no. 7, male).

### 4.5.5 The best informal teachers of isiZulu

**Interviewer:** Who do you consider to be the best informal teachers of isiZulu between men and women, boys and girls?

**Interviewee:** …mmm! women are the best, because we talk to ourselves as women. Men are full of …(omitted offensive word), they want us to go out with them. They say Nigerian men are taking their women, so, they are also supposed to take Nigerian women (Interviewee no. 6, female).

**Interviewee:** Ladies are very friendly in this country and they have a lot of dominance than men. You see, ladies are more loyal than men (Interviewee no. 8, Female).

**Interviewee:** I think women here are more intelligent and peaceful. They can teach you better (Interviewee no. 10, male).

I would say men, particularly those at advanced age, from 40 years upwards (Interviewee no. 9, male).
4.5.6. Informal versus formal learning preference

*Interviewer*: Are you satisfied with your current level of isiZulu?

*Interviewee*: No, I am not satisfied. I think I can do better than this.

*Interviewer*: In your view, what could be the best way to learn it?

*Interviewee*: I think the easiest way to learn it is to enrol for a language program or get someone who can teach you (*Interviewee no. 7, male*).

*Interviewee*: No, I am satisfied, I would want to improve. The best one can do is personal development. I want to speak the language and would like to get someone from the Zulu who can teach me the language (*Interviewee no. 8, female*).

*Interviewee*: I would like to meet someone who can really teach me the language (*Interviewee no. 9, male*).

4.5.7 Original societal multilingualism and destination language acquisition

*Interviewer*: What has been your experience like with regard to South African native languages?

*Interviewee*: Yea, you see, like I told you earlier that in Nigeria we have a diverse culture and many languages, so here it was not a challenge for me because even in Nigeria, I do not understand Hausa, I do not understand Yoruba, I do not understand Ibo because I am Edo person. So, if I come here and I do not understand another language, is like I am staying in Nigeria, it makes no difference, kkkkkk {laughter}, (*Interviewee no. 8, female*).

Well, in Nigeria we have different languages and the general language used is English. When I came to South Africa, I saw that there are also different tribes here; and people are speaking different mother tongues. In Nigeria, the general language was English and when I heard people speaking isiZulu, I was surprised, but along the line as a business person, I started learning the little small words that I can use in business (*Interviewee no. 7, male*).

... you know, is very interesting because you expect that people will speak to you in English, and that is what we were exposed to, but the next thing you hear is a local language (*Interviewee no. 10, male*).
4.5.8 Reported competency in isiZulu

*Interviewer*: What is it that you know in isiZulu?

*Interviewee*: It is just the greetings such as ‘sanibonani?’, ‘kunjani?’, ‘siyaphila’.

*Interviewer*: If you were to rate your level of proficiency in isiZulu, what would be your level with regard to the following?

a) Very well  
b) Well  
c) Not well  
d) Not at all.

*Interviewee*: Not well, I do not understand the language except the greeting (*Interviewee no. 6, female*).

*Interviewer*: What is your ability in isiZulu with regard to the following?

a) Does not speak nor understand  
b) Does not speak but understands  
c) Speaks and understands  
d) I am excellent

*Interviewee*: Right now, I do not really know the language very well, because I have never had opportunity to be close to any of the person that is from isiZulu that I could be influenced with.

*Interviewer*: which domain of isiZulu use would you claim to know a bit?  
*Interviewee*: Just little commercial words.

*Interviewer*: How would you rate your level of isiZulu with regard to the following categories:

a) Very well  
b) Well  
c) Not well  
d) Not at all

*Interviewee*: I would say very poor, because I do not speak the language (*Interviewee no. 8, female*).
**Interviewee:** I understand a little of it and speak little also. I would give myself 30% because am not that well in the language *(Interviewee no. 9, male).*

**Interviewee:** I do not speak the language, but I can understand some, so, I am in that bracket. My rate is ‘not well’ *(Interviewee no. 7, male).*

**Interviewer:** Which among the South African indigenous languages would you claim some knowledge of?

**Interviewee:** None at the moment, but I would like to learn isiXhosa or Sepedi

**Interviewer:** How would you rate your level of isiZulu with regard to the following categories:

- e) Very well
- f) Well
- g) Not well
- h) Not at all

**Interviewee:** Aaaa, not well. *(Interviewee no. 10)*

### 4.5.9 Summary

In this chapter, an introduction was given about data analysis and presentation of both biographic information of the informants and the main data obtained through the one-on-one interviews with the participants. The data were presented thematically and raw, without interpretation and comment. Among the key themes featured in the chapter and which emanated from the data, are the status and roles of isiZulu, native language speakers’ expectation from the black immigrants, the role of exposure, motivation, attitude, effect of the multilingual nature of the origin society on destination language acquisition, informal versus formal learning preferences, and other themes.

Among the key findings from the data, is that the participants appeared to have confirmed the role of isiZulu in Johannesburg, as the uniting language among speakers of various African indigenous languages. In addition to the role of a lingua-
franca, the data further reveal that some foreign nationals do also use isiZulu as a defence tool against false accusations and erroneous charges levelled against them. They also use it as a protection tool in situations of potential deportation.

As for the acquisition of the language, the data indicated that Malawian immigrants respond well to various situations of isiZulu learning. This is in contrast to Nigerian nationals who do not appear to register significant progress in as far as the acquisition of isiZulu is concerned.

Included among the factors that contribute to varying levels of acquisition, as per the data, are the linguistic and the cultural distance between isiZulu and the two learner groups, the social context of learning for the two groups and the nature of multilingualism in the countries of origin. The following chapter focuses on the discussion and interpretation of the raw data presented in this chapter.
CHAPTER 5
DATA DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

The presentation and analysis of data have been reported in the preceding chapter. The current chapter seeks to interpret and discuss the data in light of the literature reviewed. Mostly, the chapter is intended to comment and expound on the concepts and themes that emerged from the data and which were presented in Chapter 4 without any commentary. Since the study is comparative in nature, as it aims at exploring Malawian and Nigerian immigrants’ experiences with regard to the acquisition of isiZulu, compare and contrast trends of acquisitions, this chapter adopts a point-by-point method of discussion, which involves alternating points about Malawian participants with comparable points about their Nigerian counterparts.

The chapter begins with a discussion on the roles and status of isiZulu as perceived by both Malawian and Nigerian participants. This is followed by discussions on themes such as linguistic expectation of the natives from the immigrants, determinants of language proficiency, attitudes towards the language and its native speakers, language choice, the best informal teachers, learning strategies, order of acquisition, language purity, informal versus formal preference of language learning and the impact of multilingual society of origin on destination language acquisition. The chapter ends with a detailed discussion of the participants’ self-rated competency of isiZulu and the widely held notion of linguistic purism.

5.2 The status and roles of isiZulu

As evidenced by the review of literature, the finding on the status of isiZulu is consistent with previous studies. Just as Lafon (2005) found out that isiZulu plays the role of lingua-franca among speakers of various indigenous languages in Gauteng, the results in this study seem to confirm the notion that indeed isiZulu does enjoy this status. When asked about the importance of isiZulu, an interviewee number 4, responded, ‘… each and every place has its own common language, and here it is isiZulu’.
Another Malawian interviewee number 3, commented, ‘You can speak to a South African who is not a Zulu using isiZulu, still he/she will understand you because it is a common language’.

Similar to Malawian nationals’ perception with regard to the status of isiZulu, some Nigerians too appear to hold the same opinion. A male Nigerian interviewee (number 10) reports: ‘Most people here speak Zulu, but I prefer Setswana or Sepedi because I like their way’. Despite personal preferences for a particular language, still there is a recognition of the dominance of the language in the province. Bearing in mind the multi-ethnicity demographics in Johannesburg, and of the fact that the city is not the original home of the isiZulu natives, one can logically conclude that indeed its dominance means that the language has become a lingua-franca among speakers of other various African indigenous languages in the city. Again, another Nigerian interviewee number 8, reported: ‘… if isiZulu in South Africa can be placed and practiced as a unifying language, I think it will help a lot. People can easily speak one language and be able to understand one another’. This participant’s suggestion and pinpointing of isiZulu to be the country’s official lingua-franca; may not be the result of a random choice, but rather; a thoughtful proposal informed perhaps by what she might have observed of the already prevailing status of the language.

While the basic and a more direct role of any language is facilitation of communication between people, linguists report that language plays multiple roles in addition to its primary role of easing communication and interaction among society members. Language, as pointed out by (Hoijer, 1948; Brown, 1980; Wierzbicka, 1986; Spolsky, 1989; West and Graham, 2004) is a carrier of culture and a marker of a social group. In other words, language reflects the culture of the native speakers’ group, and that, through its use, individuals would often be identified to belong to a particular group known to be native speakers of the language concerned, hence; acting as a symbol of belonging, as rightly observed by Esser (2006).

Additionally, language can be used as a tool for economic adjustment of the acquirers, particularly immigrants in their host societies (Chiswick, 1998; Chiswick and Miller, 2001; Mesch, 2003; Beiser and Hou, 2000). This being the case, usefulness and usability of the knowledge and skills acquired in the country of origin,
would depend largely upon proficiency in the target destination language. Furthermore, immigrants’ effectiveness, as consumers or possible investors in the new society, is as well dependent upon their fluency in the target language and acquaintance with the ethnic market. Of course, one would not underestimate the significant role of a language in facilitating the integration of immigrants into the host societies.

In line with the above cited literature, this study too, found out that besides the need to communicate with the locals, isiZulu acquirers, particularly Malawian nationals, seem to attach numerous other roles to the language, in addition to the role of communication. When asked about the role of isiZulu to his daily life, an interviewee number 3, a Malawian man working as a caller to Muslim prayers at one of the Mosques in Mayfair, responded:

... you can easily ask for a direction if you know the language. It also helps to access health facilities such as clinics and hospitals. Sometimes you fail to get the right treatment due to language barrier between you and those prescribing the treatment. As a foreigner, isiZulu does also help me when I want to enrol my children in school. The other benefit is that through it, one will have access to native knowledge which could hardly be accessed through use of English. Even during the time of xenophobic attacks that took place in the country, certain foreigners were shielded by some locals on the strength of their competence in native languages.

One of the critical challenges faced by immigrants in the host societies is access to health facilities. As evidenced from the data, the situation gets even worse when one is linguistically unable to competently express oneself using the dominant destination language. Furthermore, it is clear from the data that immigrants do also use language as a protection tool against those who may intend to harm them on the basis of their foreignness, which, in most cases, is identified by people’s inability to speak local languages. Further to the role of security and protection, some participants reported that the knowledge of the indigenous languages helps in setting them free when they fall into the hands of the corps who often question them in isiZulu to ascertain whether they are local citizens or not. Generally, Malawians seem to believe that there exists native knowledge, associated with the indigenous
languages of the land, such as isiZulu; and that access to such kind of knowledge can only be granted by speaking the native language concerned.

It might not be exactly clear, as to what sort of native knowledge they refer to. However, one would assume, since the locals tend to open up and share more when immigrants attempt to speak to them in their native languages rather than in English, this situation may likely inform immigrants that it is only through the indigenous language itself that native knowledge and information can be acquired. To put it differently, because they (Malawian immigrants) get to hear more about the lives and culture of the natives when they interact with them using isiZulu than English, their perception is that native knowledge and information can only be conveyed and accessed through the medium of the native language involved. This perception however, has the potential to positively influence language acquisition.

Another reported role of a destination language by Malawian immigrants, is that of socialisation, specifically, when it comes to proposing love with the local women. An interviewee number 2, a Malawian man working in a shop in Mayfair, said ‘... if you do not know the language, even proposing love becomes difficult, because there is no shortcut for doing so. You cannot start proposing immediately without first going into a conversation with the potential lover’. While this role may be seen to be secondary, compared to the initial primary role of communication, it has the magnet to attract and pull people toward acquiring the language concerned.

In contrast to Malawians, who reported many roles of isiZulu, Nigerians did not report any tangible roles of the language. When asked about what roles the knowledge of isiZulu would play in one’s life, interviewee number 8 responded ‘... respect is a prerequisite, when you have to respect people, you have to respect their culture and language. If you actually want to show that you respect the people, then you speak their language’. In light of this view, an attempt to speak isiZulu would be a courtesy, just to show some regard to the natives. This role, however, does not appear to have any effect to influence acquisition beyond the level of greeting, as it can easily be fulfilled by the few memorised phrases and expressions like those of greeting.
In the final analysis, the findings about the roles of isiZulu captured above, appear to collaborate with previous studies (Atkinson, 2002; Adamuti-Trache, 2012). As discussed in the literature review, these scholars note that language is a social tool and a critical ingredient through which immigrants can actively participate in the receiving societies. The data about the roles of isiZulu, as reported by most Malawians, indicates the fact that isiZulu is used by many Malawian immigrants as a social tool for asking for directions, a tool for gaining access to health care, a tool for self-defence against unlawful detention and fake charges, a tool against deportation, a tool for gaining access to the perceived native knowledge, and a means for proposing love to the natives.

The following section discusses linguistic expectations of the local South Africans from their fellow black African immigrants.

5.3 The language expectation of natives from the black immigrants

While the above discussion focused on the status and roles of isiZulu, this section discusses language expectation of the local South Africans from their fellow black African immigrants residing in the country. One of the widely held linguistic view among many black South Africans, is the belief that any black person, regardless of where one comes from, must speak a native South African language. Both Malawian and Nigerian sets of the data, seem to confirm this finding. When inquired about what triggered her journey of acquiring isiZulu, a Malawian lady interviewee number 4, responded: ‘... if you try talking to them using English, they refuse. They would say, they are not white people and that they cannot speak English with a fellow black person’. Another Malawian male interviewee number 2, reported: ‘They would never respond in English even though some of them were proficient in English. They would say in Zulu ‘ngicela ukhulume isiZulu awuyena mlungu’ [kindly speak isiZulu since you are not a white person].

As indicated above, the Nigerians too have reported to have gone through the same experience in the hands of black South Africans. Interviewee number 10, notes ‘Immediately they see your colour that you are black, they will greet you ‘kunjani baba?’’. Another Nigerian man, interviewee number 8, reported: “Most of them
presume that you are also from here, so, the first thing they would speak is their language, and they would expect you to respond”.

While both Malawian and Nigerian groups seem to share the same experiences, the two tend to differ on how they interpret this belief of South Africans expecting them to speak native languages. On the one hand, Malawians view it as a positive inclusive initiative on the part of the natives, whereby, through the use of one particular native language, the unity of African people can be achieved. And, since language is often a marker of a social group, by using the same language, Africans will be united as one people, hence; there will be no labelling of one another on the basis of language. When asked to explain what he thinks could be the reason for the natives to behave in this manner, a Malawian male interviewee number 3, responded:

It might be seen as being selfish, however, I think their aim is to ensure that Africans are unified through the use of the common dominant language. Our cultural differences can easily be reconciled through the use of a language dominating the area. If we speak the same language, we will all look as equal citizens.

Nigerians, on the other hand, see this as a way through which the natives, particularly, members from the isiZulu speech community, want to impose supremacy over others. They (Nigerians) wonder as to why they should expect other people to speak their language without ascertaining first, whether this person knows the language or not. They regard the tendency as a bully tactic to force them to speak the language, a behaviour which is unacceptable to them. Interviewee number 10, explains:

What I have noted is that most South Africans have not travelled, and that is why they have that type of opinion that everybody who is black should speak a local language. Another thing is that their experience with apartheid seems to inform their judgement.

In trying to account for the source of difference of opinion between the two groupings above, specifically on the debatable question of people kind of being pushed to speak isiZulu, one would not go further than looking at the educational profile of the two groups as the main contributory factor. As is evident from the biographical information of the two groupings, Nigerians, unlike most Malawians operating in the
labour force in the country, are highly educated people. It is therefore, very unlikely that such learned people would easily surrender what they perceive to be their right to language choice. Perhaps, it is in this regard that they describe the tendency as an effect of the apartheid system, whereby certain people were being forced to learn a language such as Afrikaans which they did not like. Another possible factor is that most Nigerians, as it is evident from the demographic profiles of the participants, are in Small Business Enterprises (SBEs), unlike the Malawians who, most of them are in labour force. Being in business, the extent of need for a native language may differ compared to that of those in the labour force, thus, influencing the manner in which people can react to the question discussed above.

While each group may be entitled to its own opinion, it is, however, imperative to mention that each view has a different implication to language acquisition. Those who are positive about the tendency, are most likely to acquire the language concerned, in contrast to those who view it differently.

5.4 Determinants of language proficiency

In their study about a Model of destination language acquisition, Chiswick and Miller (2001) point out three key factors that account for a destination language acquisition, and these are exposure, motivation and efficiency. This section examines the data that addresses these factors through their bridging assumptions such as marriage after migration, linguistic enclaves, age on the set, linguistic distance and others. It examines the extent to which findings of the study agree or differ with the available frameworks in the literature.

5.4.1 Exposure

Exposure is the most highly discussed factor of language acquisition by many scholars. Although exposure is credited as responsible for a large part of language acquisition by some scholars (Chiswick, 2008; Chiswick and Miller, 2001), others (e.g. Krashen, 1981; 1982; Becker, 2007) argue that mere exposure would not translate into an automatic acquisition if the opportunity to it does not provide a comprehensible input that contains new linguistic features. Again, they contend that an input would not be of any impact if it is not turned into intake by the acquirers.
This study found out that Malawian immigrants are exposed to isiZulu mainly by the local South African colleagues in their various work as well as business places. However, it is also evident from the data that their exposure to the language does not only proceed through contact with the native speakers of the language, or the wider community of other local South Africans who speak the language. It is clear that exposure to the language is also facilitated by other foreign nationals who are proficient speakers of the language. Zimbabweans, for instance, are the most cited group of reference by many Malawians. They are perceived to be competent speakers of isiZulu by many Malawians, hence; they regard them as their possible teachers of the language. When enquired about how she managed to learn isiZulu, a Malawian interviewee number 8, responded:

> There was a time I worked with Zimbabweans and they were good in isiZulu. They used to teach me the basics, particularly greetings. Additionally, I benefit by listening to isiZulu fluent Malawians conversing with the locals.

Another Malawian interviewee (number 2), when asked about how exactly he got into learning isiZulu, he responded: “I started learning isiZulu from my work place. We were a mixed team of Malawians and local South Africans”.

It is also clear, from the data, that most Malawian nationals do understand the negative implication of linguistic enclaves on language acquisition. As noted by Chiswick and Miller (2001), language exposure can be intensified when the acquirers or learners live and/or work in the same areas where the natives live, unlike when they are concentrated in places where fellow county men and women live and work. When asked about his experience with regard to acquisition of isiZulu, interviewee number 3, who is a caller to Muslim prayers, responded:

> It all depends on the nature of work place. If you are working only with your countrymen, then learning a new language becomes difficult, unlike when you are mixed with local South Africans. Listening to them regularly speak their language, one will eventually grow interest to learn it.

In agreement with the reviewed literature on language exposure, which suggests that exposure can take place before or after migration (Chiswick and Miller, 2001), the
study reveals that Malawian immigrants are exposed to isiZulu right from their country of origin before initial migration takes place. Interviewee number 4 says:

While still in Malawi, I used to hear friends saying that in South Africa, the greeting expression is ‘kunjani?’ [how are you?]. They used to advise us that in order to be able to communicate with people, you will have to learn isiZulu.

This narrative however, boils down to the same previous discussion about the status of isiZulu as perceived by these immigrants. Furthermore, this finding confirms the fact that South African has, indeed become the new major destination country for many African migrants in recent years. Previously, prior destination language exposure was only associated with major international languages of colonizers, such as English, French and Portuguese, as they are part of the schooling syllabus in their former colonies.

Whereas most Malawian nationals appear to be exposed to isiZulu primarily in their work places, exposure to the language by most Nigerian nationals takes place largely in their various small business stations. This finding, however, does not imply that a partial exposure to the language, for both Nigerians and Malawians cannot take place in other public spaces and services such as markets, various places of entertainment, public transport and many others. When it comes to the question of comparing intensity of exposure in the labour force and small business setups where the two groups operate from, it is almost certain that those in the labour force are likely to have an intense exposure to isiZulu compared to those in businesses. This is so because of the strength of the relationship between and among the colleagues at work, compared to that which exists between a buyer and a seller, which is of a more provisional nature. Furthermore, there is a strong possibility that workmates’ interaction would touch on various spheres of life, hence involving a variety of domains of language use. This may not be the case in a buyer and a seller relationship which generally focuses on business matters that may involve the use of a limited and specific business terms. When asked about a specific area of isiZulu use which she is knowledgeable of, interviewee number 8, a Nigerian lady, responded: ‘Just little commercial words’.
One of the commonly cited aspects of exposure, which is deemed to enhance the acquisition of a target language, is marriage after migration. Post migration marriage is most likely going to be to a spouse from the destination country, thus; enhancing the intensity of exposure to the target language at a family level. In contrast, marriage before migration to a spouse of the same linguistic background of the country of origin, is seen to hinder progress in destination language acquisition, as the couple are likely to maintain the use of their native language (Stevens, 1999; Chiswick and Miller, 1994; 2001).

While this research acknowledges the positive role of marriage after migration to a destination language acquisition, the participants in this study however, were quick to mention that the practice does not always result in an automatic proficiency in the target language on the part of an acquirer. The data reveals that even when one is married to a native speaker of a target language, progress in acquiring the language will only be registered when an acquirer is keen to it, and at the same time, the native speaker is also interested to pass on the language to his or her foreign spouse. Without such keen interest from both parties, the acquisition progress would still be deterred, regardless of the seeming intensity of exposure through post migration union. When asked about the role of marriage to isiZulu acquisition, interviewee number 3, responded:

Yes, it is possible to master language through your partner, however, it will also depend on whether your marital partner is interested in passing the language to you or not. Again, your personal interest counts. It is also possible that, instead of you benefitting linguistically from her, she might be the one mastering your language. I know of a Malawian man married to a Xhosa lady, and the wife is now a proficient speaker of both Chiyao and Chichewa, while the husband is still grappling to learn IsiXhosa.

It appears like what has always been considered to be an opportunity for an intensive language exposure on the part of an acquirer of a target destination language could, though in rare cases, also be an exposure opportunity for the native interlocutors to learn a minority language of the immigrants concerned. Not only does this happen in a marriage situation, it also happens even in a mere friendship between men or women. When I enquired from a Nigerian man, interviewee number 9, who runs a business of fixing cell-phones and other electronics, about whether or
not he has friends from local South Africans, and what language/s he uses to interact with them, he responded:

We speak English and one of my best South African friends speaks my local language, Igbo. I have known him since I came in 1999. He is very fast to learn and, when he speaks, people get surprised and they cannot figure out that he is a South African.

While acknowledging that he has not acquired isiZulu beyond the greeting level, this Nigerian informant reports that his South African friend can comfortably converse in Igbo learnt from him. Again, this confirms the role of interest on language acquisition, and the fact that the advantages associated with exposure can go either way, depending on who wants it more from the other. The following section discusses the effect of attitude and interest of both Malawian and Nigerian nationals on their motivation to language acquisition.

5.4.2 Attitude and motivation to language acquisition

Among the frequently and widely used explanatory factors for second language acquisition success or failure are attitudes and motivation. As pointed out in section 2.9.2.3 of the literature review chapter, the two commonly cited traditional types of motivations are integrative and instrumental motivations (Gardner and Lambert 1959; Schumann 1978; Gardner 1985; Schumann, 1986; Masgoret and Gardner 2003; Gardner, 2010). Gardner and Lambert (1959) observe that attitude has an indirect effect on language acquisition, as it does so through motivation which affects acquisition directly. In other words, attitudes influence motivation and the motivation eventually affects acquisition. According to Gardner and Lambert (1959), attitude indicates the learner’s intention to acquire the target language for reasons that can be pursued with a varying measure of strength.

On the question of attitude, this research found out that most Malawians tend to have a positive attitude toward the isiZulu and its speakers. When asked to describe the natives, most Malawians did not paint all South Africans with a single brush. For example, interviewee number 1 responded:

There will always be two types of people, those who are open and friendly, and the opposite of that. Some of them are really very good. They can sit and talk to
you with love and care, and you could feel welcomed. Some, you can notice that they are problematic.

Another Malawian interviewee number 5, said:

... not all the people can be good or bad. There are those who are good and those who are not. It is a normal thing. Even in the family, siblings of the same father and mother would still fight. So, we would be wrong to label all the South Africans as bad or good people.

Besides being positive with the isiZulu native speakers and South Africans in general, they also seem to be positive with the language itself, as evidenced by different roles they attach to isiZulu. As for the orientation of their motivation, Malawians appear to be integratively motivated. When asked as to why they learn isiZulu, many of them indicated that they would like to communicate with the local people and feel comfortable when seated among isiZulu speaking people. Interviewee number 1 said:

You need isiZulu to be able to communicate with people here in South Africa. Furthermore, you can only make friendship with the local people if you speak isiZulu and not English.

Contrary to Malawian nationals, Nigerian immigrants appear to hold negative attitude towards isiZulu and its native speakers. For example, in response to the same question above, a Nigerian interviewee number 6, said:

... there is a challenge with languages, especially if you find yourself in the township and you do not learn it, they will squeeze you out. So, I always advise friends not to stay in townships, it is better to stay next to the whites.

When further questioned whether or not she makes any attempt to learn isiZulu, the very same interviewee (number 6) responded: ‘I do not need it’. An additional follow up question to her about whether she would allow her child to learn isiZulu or not, yielded the response ‘Not isiZulu, but at least Afrikaans’.

Another Nigerian interviewee number 9, when asked to describe the South African people in general said:
The locals here, because of what they have passed through, I may not judge them, but that mindset is still there. They do not really love the foreigners, you know, even that person you marry as your wife in the house, also have that hatred when it comes to foreigners.

In addition to having what appears to be a negative attitude towards the Zulus and the isiZulu speaking South Africans in general, the motivation for learning isiZulu for most Nigerian immigrants appears to be instrumentally oriented as opposed to Malawian integrative motivation. As pointed out in section 2.9.2.3 under literature review, instrumental motivation in language learning is principally driven by material gains associated with the language. It seems like the isiZulu interest for most Nigerian nationals, who are engaged in various small businesses in the country, centres only on commercial words that they require in business transactions with the natives. When asked which domain of isiZulu use interviewee number 8 was acquainted with, she responded ‘Just the little commercial words’, and when further questioned about the importance of learning isiZulu, she responded ‘…respect is a prerequisite, when you want to respect people, you have to respect their culture and language. If you actually want to show that you respect them, then you must speak their language’. Another Nigerian interviewee number 7, responded: ‘…as a businessman, I started learning the little small words that I can use in business. For example, when someone wants to buy something, he/she asks you ‘malini?’ [how much?]’.

The empirical findings on the question of attitude and motivation in this study, appear to be consistent with previous studies (Gardner and Lambert 1959; Masgoret and Gardner 2003) supporting the idea that integratively oriented second language learners tend to have more positive attitude towards the native speakers, as they also seem to be highly motivated to learn the target language than those who are instrumentally motivated. It is clear also in this research that Malawian nationals who are integratively oriented to the learning of isiZulu, do also demonstrate a positive attitude towards members from the speech community of the target language and at the same time, they exhibit a strong drive and willingness to acquire the language than most Nigerians who are instrumentally motivated. According to Masgoret and Gardner (2003), integrative orientation influences the acquisition positively simply
because, second language acquisition involves embracing various linguistic features such as intonation and word order that are part of another culture.

While Masgoret and Gardner (2003) cite three scales for measuring integrativeness, and these are attitude toward the target language group, integrative orientation and interest in foreign languages in general, this study however, made use of the first and second scales in measuring the extent to which both Malawian and Nigerian immigrants are open to identify, in part with the native speakers of isiZulu. The study did not take the third scale into consideration, as interest to foreign languages was seen to be embedded in the two adopted scales.

In an attempt to account for the cause of a difference in isiZulu learning orientation between Malawian and Nigerian nationals, the same reasons cited previously in section 5.3, ‘the language expectation of natives from the black immigrants’ apply. As previously alluded to in section 5.3, most Malawian immigrants in South Africa, are engaged in labour force, contrary to Nigerian nationals, who most of them operate in Small Business Enterprises (SBE). In labour force, Malawians work hand in hand with the locals as labourers, hence they feel the need to interact and make friendships with them. This might not be the case with Nigerian SBE owners, whose priority might be to acquire a handful isiZulu words enough to facilitate the selling of their commodities in a situation whereby a non-English speaking local South African patronises the business. They might not feel the same need as Malawians, to socialise and integrate, as they tend to be operating in their own space, whereby the locals may not have a full control over it to dominate and show influence through their language. As for the cause of the difference in attitudes and, consequently, motivation between the two groups and looking at the educational background analysis of the Malawian and Nigerian nationals as shown in tables 4.1.1d and 4.2.1d, it appears therefore, reasonable to suggest that educational level of each group seems to contribute differently to the way each group absorbs and relates to varying learning situations on isiZulu in the country. On the one hand, Malawians appear to have a more tolerating attitude while Nigerians, on the other hand, seem not to have much patience to tolerate some learning situations which somehow appear to be provocative.
To this end, perhaps it might also be important to acknowledge the inspiring works of some linguists (e.g. Peirce 1995; Dornenyi 1994) who argue for the inclusion of social context in the explanation of language learners’ attitude and motivation. For instance, Peirce (1995) argues that learners’ attitude and motivation should not be described only in light of learners’ affective (psychological) factors, but rather, the social context should also be taken into consideration. That is to say, the attitudes of some of the second / destination language learners might have been socially shaped by behaviours of some interlocutors in the society, hence the need to amalgamate the two. As alluded to above, it is the learners’ tolerance in coping with various learning situations, be they social or psychological that will determine the extent to which they become motivated or demotivated to acquire the target language. In either case, the success or failure in second language acquisition will still be attributed to learners themselves irrespective of the role of the social context. Success may not always come in a silver platter, but rather comes with a price and one must be prepared to pay the price if one has to succeed in achieving the desired outcome in anything.

5.4.3 Efficiency

As pointed out by Chiswick and Miller (2001) in the chapter on literature review, section 2.8.3, efficiency refers to a degree of improvement in second or foreign language acquisition per unit of exposure, and as it has also been stated by Van Tubergen (2010) in the same section that there are no direct measures for efficiency and other determinants of language acquisition, hence the adoption of the bridging assumptions such as age on arrival, length of residence in the destination country, educational background and linguistic distance between destination language and language of origin. According to Chiswick and Miller (2001), hypotheses regarding the effects of the bridging assumptions on destination language acquisition are drawn from observable individuals.

5.4.3.1 Age and Second Language Acquisition

The notion of age on the onset of migration is the centre piece of comparison on second language acquisition between children and adults and it is one of the most
extensively studied topics in the field of second language acquisition. As it has been stated in Chapter 2 under literature review, section 2.8.3.1, Lenneberg’s (1967) Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH) has been the leading explanatory factor for the widely held view about maturity constraints, which suggests that children acquire second language better and faster than adults. It argues that children lose their flexibility to acquire a second language when they approach puberty stage. To put it differently, the hypothesis entails that adults’ inability to learn a second language is due to biological reasons.

In this study, while both Malawian and Nigerian participants unanimously agree with the view that children are indeed the best and faster learners of a second language than most adults, the cited causes for the children’s successes are far from biological and maturational constraints raised in Lenneberg’s (1967) CPH. Contrary to the CPH claims, the empirical findings in this research reveal that schooling and peer interaction are key contributory factors to children’s success in second language acquisition. The findings indicate that through schooling, children are able to make friendship with their peers who are the native speakers of the target language. Furthermore, the data reveal that children have the quality of being able to interact freely and with open-mindedness with their peers, a situation which appears to facilitate and enhance acquisition. It is also clear from the data that among the critical reasons that contribute to children’s success in second language acquisition, is the fact that they are not shy to use the little they know from the target language to communicate, nor are they afraid of ridicule from their friends in an event a linguistic error is committed. A Malawian interviewee number 1, says:

…children are good in learning new languages. They are quick to master a new language because of their openness to each other. They do not feel shy to speak the language, nor afraid of ridicule should they commit errors.

A Nigerian Interviewee number 6 reports:

… children will learn the language faster because they are still children and will mix with other children. Moreover, they will be going to the same school where fellow native speakers of the target language go.
Taken together, and in resonance with the existing literature (Hakuta 2001; Stevens 1999; Klein 1996; Cummins 1991; Collier 1987; Glass and Denny 1987; Brown 1980; Krashen et al. 1979) that argue against Lenneberg’s (1967) Critical Period Hypothesis, it can be inferred from the data and the discussion above, that it is the very same social and psychological factors that affect language acquisition in adults, that are responsible for success in children’s second language acquisition, and not biological factors per se. Maturational constraints, according to Stevens (1999), affect first language acquisition and have nothing to do with the second language. While one’s abilities in acquiring the mother tongue diminishes at puberty, Stevens (1999) observes that the ability to acquire a second language does not cease with the advent of puberty or old age in general, despite the process being characterised with less efficiency. Stevens’ (1999) argument of restricting the effect of the critical period to mother tongue appears to be logical, since children’s acquisition of mother tongue seem to proceed naturally and, in most cases, effortlessly, unlike the acquisition of a second language, which requires some effort, as it may also involve a certain degree of consciousness at the level of awareness as previously mentioned in the chapter under literature review. He further elaborates that, what the age does is to dictate different life paths for children and adults, hence; differently influencing acquisition in them.

Arguing in favour of the findings this study, Hakuta (2001) maintains that one’s reduced abilities in learning things cannot be cited as evidence for critical period. He contends that just as one’s reduced ability in riding bicycle cannot warrant a call for a critical period of riding a bicycle, diminishing abilities in learning languages should not also suggest that there is a critical period for learning additional languages. He further argues that since a certain language device is said to shut off at puberty, severe decline was supposed to be observed more at the advanced phase of critical period than the noticed continued gradual decline in an individual’s life span. He therefore, concludes that it is the environment that plays a key role in facilitating the acquisition in children.

The study’s empirical findings on children’s success in destination / second language acquisition appear to be in line with previous studies. Particularly, those that attribute children’s successes to social and psychological context of the environment, and not
biological factors, as discussed above. It is however, imperative to point out that the
widely held part of the notion, which has also emerged clearly from the data that
children are the faster learners of a destination or second language, does not seem
to be supported by the extant literature. For instance, Krashen et al. (1979) assert
that adults and older children acquire destination language faster than younger
children in an early phase of acquisition. They further clarify that although adults
appear to outperform the younger learners in the short term, children eventually
would outrun them in the long term in as far as attainment of the ultimate
competency in the target language is concerned. A plausible reason that can explain
why adults would be the first to display early attempts of destination language skills,
is that adults feel more need and pressured to speak than children. Unlike the
children, adults may not afford a total silent period. Furthermore, most activities of
the adults would simultaneously require the use of a dominant target language.

A possible reason underlying most adults’ assumption about children being the faster
learners of a destination language can be inferred from the literature about a period
of silence in children’s second language acquisition. According to Roseberry-
McKibbin (1995), children may go for 3 to 6 months pre-production stage, whereby
they would be observing and listening to a second language without speaking it. For
children who are not in school and are acquiring a second language informally from
their peers, it would be difficult for parents and adults in general to observe this non-
verbal stage in them. Because of their failure to observe the receptive language
phase in the children, the next seemingly quick and easy observation parents, and
adults, in general would make, is to spot the children conversing competently in the
language, at a time when they (adults) might still be grappling to master it. With this
experience, it is highly likely for adults to be prone to presume that children are the
faster learners of a destination language. Tabors and Snow (1994) state that children
proceed through 4 stages in second language acquisition: the use of home
language, non-verbal stage, stage of memorised speech and the ultimate fluency. An
important observation within the presented data, is that adults appear to notice only
the final stage of fluency and not the first three stages.

On the whole, it is understood from the above discussion about the effect of age on
the onset of destination language acquisition that, while the younger acquirers might
be more efficient in acquiring the target language than most adults, age itself does not seem to have any direct impact, but rather, it is the socio-psychological factors that are responsible for their efficiency and not biological factors as alleged by Lenneberg (1967) and other supporters of maturational constraints in second language acquisition. In view of this, it appears therefore reasonable to argue that adults too, can effectively and efficiently learn a second language if they can manage both social and psychological factors that affect acquisition. In fact, echoing from the auspices of Cummins (1991) theory of Common Underlying Proficiency, or Hakuta’s (2001) Cumulative Model, adults would enjoy an upper hand on second language acquisition because of their cognitive abilities in their first language. As previously alluded to in section 2.8.3.1 of the literature review, the Common Underlying Proficiency or Cumulative Model posit that the two language systems of a bilingual speaker do share one underlying proficiency. This entails that language skills in one’s well established language such as a mother tongue, would be transferable to the other.

5.4.3.2 Linguistic distance

Other, equally important, factor deemed to enhance efficiency in destination language acquisition, according to scholars (such as Chiswick and Miller 2004; Isphording and Sebastian (2011), is the distance between the original and destination languages. As previously stated in the literature review, Chiswick and Miller (2004) find that immigrants’ performance in a destination language differ according to their country of origin, and consequently, those whose language of origin happens to be structurally close to that of a destination language, find it easy to learn the target destination language.

As expected, the empirical findings on this question are consistent with Chiswick and Miller’s (2004) study, supporting the impact of linguistic distance on the acquisition of a destination language. The Malawian participants, who up to this far, seem to have shown more acquaintance to isiZulu and its native speakers, have reported both structural and semantic similarities between their original languages, particularly Chichewa and Chiyao, and the isiZulu. When asked about the similarities between isiZulu and Malawian languages, interviewee number 5 responded: “We make
mistakes in isiZulu simply because it is a sovereign language altogether. However, so many similarities exist between isiZulu and Malawian languages such as Chichewa and Chiyao”. And when pressed to cite examples of such similarities, he responded:

I have plentiful examples: An isiZulu word ‘muntu’ [human being], is equivalent to a Chichewa word ‘muntu’ or even a Chiyao word ‘mundu’. In isiZulu, water is called ‘amanzi’, while in Chichewa is known as ‘madzi’ and in Chiyao ‘mes’i. In Chichewa, a tooth is called ‘dzino’ and in Chiyao they call it ‘lino, while the Zulu call it ‘izinyo’.

Another Interviewee (number 4), when asked about the tactics he used in order to enhance his understanding of isiZulu, he said ‘Whenever I heard them talking, I used to exchange my knowledge of Chichewa with isiZulu. I could tell the meaning from the sound of an isiZulu word by relating it to a Chichewa word’. Apparently, the data clearly suggests that indeed, there is much in common between Chichewa, the Malawian national language, and the isiZulu.

In contrast to similarities between Malawian languages and isiZulu, there seems to exist a wide linguistic distance between isiZulu and most Nigerian languages. Almost all the Nigerian immigrants who participated in this study reported lack of similarities between their native languages and isiZulu. These informants were native speakers of Yoruba, Igbo and Edo languages. A Yoruba speaking interviewee (number 6), when questioned about any possible similarities between her language and isiZulu, she replied:

…you cannot compare Zulu and my language, there are no similarities between the two languages, nothing at all. We are different in many aspects, culture, food, dressing, the way we talk and even behavior.

Besides the reported linguistic distance between isiZulu and Nigerian languages, another observable point in the Nigerian data is that they appear to distance themselves further away from the natives even in non-linguistic aspects that are easy to ignore. Another interviewee number 10, said: ‘… there are no similarities at all. The only similar word is ‘baba’. This is because this word is universal. You know, their language has a lot of clicks and make it difficult’.
Perhaps the reported similarities between some Malawian languages and isiZulu could be attributed to reasons of common genetic origin. Chichewa and Chiyao fall under the same language family as isiZulu, the Bantu family. Unlike Chichewa and the isiZulu, most Nigerian languages, according to Britannica (www.britannica.com), fall under different subgroups of the Benue-Congo branch of the Niger-Congo family. For instance, Yoruba falls under the Defoid languages while Edo falls under the Edoid languages and Igbo under Igboid languages. While the scope of this study may not provide for a detailed discussion of the classification of these languages, it is however logical to presume that the reported distance is due to reasons related to differences of genetic origin of the languages involved.

5.4.3.3 Social distance

The results of the current study, on the question of the effect of social/cultural distance on second language acquisition, appear to match with those mentioned in earlier studies, such as Schumann’s (1986) Acculturation Model, Gass and Selinker’s (1994) Apperception, and Acton’s (1979) perceived social distance which suggest that the wider the social/cultural distance between the L2 learners and a target language group, the more difficult it becomes for L2 learners to learn the language involved. While it might be difficult to measure the distance between the two cultures, Acton (1979), as stated in the literature review contends that what matters most is what the learners themselves perceive to be the difference, as one is prone to react in accordance to his/her own perception.

In addition to linguistic distance that exists between various Nigerian languages and isiZulu, as discussed in the preceding section, further analysis of the data reveals that there is also a wider social/cultural distance between the two groups. When asked about any similarities between Yoruba and isiZulu, interviewee (number 6), went on to mention even non-language variances, such as cultural differences. She said: ‘We differ in many aspects; culture, food, dressing, the way we talk and even behaviour’. The perceived cultural differences, as noted by Brown (1980), affect a number of factors which are key to language acquisition, e.g. attitude, motivation and attention. The finding about cultural distance does provide a further explanation as to
why Nigerians find it difficult to learn the language despite being exposed to it in many ways.

5.4.3.4 Length of residence

Long stay in the destination country or region of the target dominant language, is another factor to be associated with efficiency in the target language. With long stay, one is likely to develop many contacts with the natives; which would eventually lead to acquisition (Schumann, 1978; Chiswick, 1986). The findings in the current study however, are in sharp contrast with the previous studies. The empirical findings in this research reveal that the length of residence in the destination country has no effect on destination language acquisition. The data from both Malawian and Nigerian immigrants consistently pointed out to the fact that a mere length of residence would not predict proficiency in the destination language, if an acquirer is not interested and committed to acquire the language. A Malawian interviewee (number 5) said:

... long stay does not necessarily mean that one would be more proficient in the language than the new comer. It depends on how good one is in associating with the locals. For example, I have friends here who came long before me, they have been in the country for many years, but they cannot match me in isiZulu. Because of the nature of their work, those brothers associate more with Indians and whites, while in my work, I interact more with the indigenous people.

Similarly, a Nigerian lady, interviewee number 8, commented:

It is not about the longer you stay, though it could be an advantage. It is about interest, if you are not interested in something, you can even stay for 30 years, you will not be able to understand a bit of the language.

While the length of residence in the first instance would appear to have a positive correlation with proficiency in the destination language, the analysis of the data from both groups clearly suggests that the practice does not lead to an automatic acquisition. It is understood from this that while exposure to a language could somehow be guaranteed by one’s extended length of residence in the area of a target language, one may not be able to ascertain that such exposure would provide a linguistic input necessary for acquisition. Even in the event whereby such input is
provided, still, one would not assume that the input would automatically be turned into intake by the acquirer. Perhaps, it is in this view that interest and a strong drive to learn or acquire language become crucial.

Another possible credible justification that could be given to support the viability of our finding, which is in contrast to previous studies, specifically, on the impact of length of residence, can be inferred from Becker’s (2007) statement that determinants of second language acquisition do not work in isolation, but rather, function in harmony with each other. This entails that meeting one condition or factor, would not guarantee acquisition in the absence of other key contributing factors.

It may also be logical to assume that the argument in previous studies, about impact of length of residence (Chiswick, 1978; Schumann, 1986) were made in the context of a monolingual destination country or region within the country that uses one particular international language. In this case therefore, a language learner may not be able to function and be productive except through the use of one such dominant language, hence, an acquirer would be compelled to master the target language, and length of residence in this case, is most likely to have a positive correlation with proficiency in the target destination language. However, in a situation of a multilingual destination country, such as South Africa, this might not be the case as rightly suggested by the empirical findings in this study. The following is another aspect deemed to improve destination language acquisition by the immigrants.

5.4.3.5 Educational background

The relationship between educational background and destination language acquisition by immigrants, is one of such areas within the wider field of second language acquisition that have been extensively investigated by many scholars in the field. Educational levels of the immigrants is another aspect thought to enhance the immigrants’ proficiency in the destination language (Stevens, 1999; Chiswick and Miller 1994; 2001). As alluded in section 2.8.3 of the literature review, immigrants with high levels of education obtained prior to migration are said to acquire a second language better than uneducated ones. This notion is based on the assumption that highly educated immigrants are more likely to possess more language related skills
acquired during the course of their schooling back at home. Additionally, in some instances, the destination language is the very same language used as a medium of instruction in school in the immigrants’ countries of origin.

Again, contrary to the extant literature, the empirical data of the current study, do not appear to have established any significant correlation between the immigrants’ levels of education and the acquisition of isiZulu as a destination language in Johannesburg. When enquired about the role of prior education on acquisition of isiZulu, almost all the informants from both Malawian and Nigerian groups, were unanimously of the view that language acquisition has nothing to do with one’s prior education. For them, what matters in destination or second language acquisition is interest. In fact, some respondents pointed out that high levels of education lead to the avoidance of the attempt to learn and use the target destination language. As previously indicated, an educated person is most likely to have learned and mastered at least one international language which she or he may decide to use in order to avoid the hardship of learning a completely new language. A Nigerian interviewee (number 10) observed: ‘… once you have an alternative, people would want to go for a short cut’. When asked whether prior education would have any impact on isiZulu acquisition, a Malawian interviewee number 3, responded: ‘Not at all, I have seen people who are well educated, but they are not able even to ask for a direction in isiZulu. On the hand, there are those who are not learned but learn the language better’.

A possible reason to account for the inconsistency between the existing literature and the results of this study, particularly, on the question of correlation between prior education and destination language acquisition, can be attributed to the difference of focus in terms of the languages studied. As pointed out in section 1.5 of the introductory chapter by Mbokazi (1991) and Mabila (2001), most of the studies conducted on immigrants and destination language acquisition focused on international European languages such as English, French and Portuguese, whose native speakers once colonized Africa, and as part of their influence, their languages became part and parcel of the colonies. Consequently, such languages became the official mediums of instruction in school, business, and government domains. The opinion about the effect of education on the acquisition of a destination
language in the extant literature, may hold for the international languages. This is because such languages are widely studied, and most immigrants are likely to have been exposed to them in the country of origin. The scenario however, may differ when the target is an indigenous African language, as is the case with isiZulu.

In light of the above, it might therefore, not be surprising that the findings could not establish any significant relationship between the two variables mentioned above. Based on their own lived experiences, participants in this study were able to notice and report that education acquired in their country of origin could hardly impact on the acquisition of isiZulu. This is because the learning of isiZulu was a completely new experience for most of them, as the language might not have been part of their schooling syllabus in the country of origin. Even the few Malawian nationals who have reported to have been exposed to isiZulu right in Malawi (see section 4.3.4.1), such partial exposure, as previously mentioned, was facilitated by the few individuals who had an opportunity to visit, live or work in South Africa, and not through the education system in the country of origin.

5.5 The best informal teachers of isiZulu

Scholars (Richards and Nunan, 1990; Prabhu, 1990; Freeman and Johnson, 1998; and Johnson, 1992) have, over the years, argued with regard to language learning in a classroom situation that, besides methods and content, teachers themselves are key to understanding and advancing language learning and teaching. They have warned against the notion of looking at the teachers as mere robots that function only with limited information which they have been fed with, without necessarily having to exert any of their own influences. Teachers, as human beings, have their own individual personal values and beliefs that are likely to affect, impact and shape the direction of the proceedings in a classroom language learning environment. Since language is a social product, social skills on the part of teachers will have a grave bearing on their teaching, and consequently, affecting learners’ progress.

Similarly, this study also reveals that in the natural settings of language acquisition, interlocutors are destined to influence language acquisition in learners differently as per their own individual personal values and conduct. Drawing on our data, it is
evident from the participants’ preference of female interlocutors that women are deemed to be the best informal teachers of a language than men. The majority of the participants from both the Malawian and Nigerian participating groups unanimously favoured women as the best informal teachers of isiZulu in the country. Interviewee number 10, a Nigerian man reported: ‘I think women here are more intelligent, peaceful and can teach you well’. Another informant, a Malawian interviewee number 2, responded: ‘Firstly, I would say mature women from the age of 40 onwards. They help learn the language better, as they are willing to guide and attend to you well. Secondly, girls, especially if you are in a relationship, she can help you out of love to learn the language better’. A careful analysis of all the justifications given by the participants to substantiate their preference of women over men, with regard to teaching of IsiZulu in the naturalistic language environment, appears to indicate that women have a more positive social behaviour than men. The data describes women as more peaceful, friendly, helpful, easy to be loyal to, intelligent and more willing to interact than men. With these qualities in them, it is, therefore, not surprising that many foreign nationals in the country regard women as the best informal teachers when it comes to the acquisition of various indigenous languages in South Africa. Language, as a social product, requires an enabling social context under which it can be acquired or learned.

Interestingly, the findings appear to be supported by many previous studies that focus their investigations on the question of gender differences in types of interactive communication between men and women (e.g. Carli and Bukatko 2000; Carli 2001). These studies suggest that interactive communication by men is largely characterised by assertion of status and dominance. Women’s interactions, on the other hand, are of more collaborative, accommodative and supportive in nature. While communication by men tends to reveal what Tannen (1990; 1994) calls ‘report-talk’, women communication exhibits ‘rapport-talk’. The Report-talk is a type of communication that seeks to impose the speaker’s status and authority, while rapport-talk aims to enhance the social ties.

In their study, ‘Measuring Sex Stereo-types: A Multinational study’, Williams and Best (1990) found that women are more communal than men who tend to be agentic. That is, women display collaborative behaviour, whereas men tend to show
an egotistic kind of behaviour, manifested in their self-assertion tendencies displayed in their style of communication. Language being a social product, as previously mentioned, it is not therefore surprising that second language learners would prefer a section of interlocutors who appear to demonstrate positive social behaviours with them, and in this study, women tend to feature high.

In addition to women, a few participants indicated that mature men do also make good teachers of isiZulu. They described the older men as peaceful as and more supportive than younger men. This scenario can best be understood with reference to Socio-emotional Selectivity Theory (Carstensen, 1993; Carstensen and Turk-Charles, 1994). The Socio-emotional Selectivity Theory (SST) postulates that older adults (men or women) tend to promote relationships and social interactions that enhance their emotional well-being. According to SST, the older adults generally maintain a positive social interactions with friends; even in the event of a possible conflict, they would look at their own emotions and that of others positively, hence, diffusing the potential tension that would have been escalated. The key reason underlying the older men’s positive socio-emotional behaviour, according to Carstensen (1993), is their perception about the limited time they have to live. When time to live is seen to be short, one is likely to concentrate on what Carstensen (1993) calls ‘present-related goals’ such as emotional satisfaction and promotion of a meaningful communally related activities, unlike young adults, who perceive their future to be long, hence they tend to focus on future-related goals such as pursuance of individual achievements, and by any means; broadening of their perceived opportunities. In light of this, it unsurprising to report the old men as the best isiZulu interlocutors.

5.6 Language learning strategies

Learning strategies, according to Ellis (1986; 1994), are ways by which second language learners or acquirers use to process second language (L2) directly through the use of L2 input, or indirectly through L2 context. As observed by Ellis (1994), the process may involve linguistic behaviour such as asking for a name of a particular item, and sometimes may involve a non-linguistic behaviour like pointing at a particular object in order to be told its name. It can be behavioural or mental and may
involve both L1 and L2. The learning strategies considered in this section are memorisation, simplification, inferencing, meaning negotiation and translation.

5.6.1 Memorisation

The early stages of a second or destination language production are dominated by memorised expressions which Ellis (1986; 1994) calls ‘formulaic speeches’. These are expressions learned by knowing their use and not necessarily much of their structures. Memorisation is a conscious process and is one of the most widely used language learning strategy. The highly featuring formulaic speeches, according to Ellis (1986; 1994), are those that are required for the immediate communicative needs of the second or destination language learners.

In this study, memorisation has been substantially reported by the participants, particularly those of Malawian descent, as the main strategy of language learning. When asked about how he ensured that he remembers whatever linguistic features he has acquired, interviewee number 5 responded: ‘At the beginning, I used to write some notes, or they could write for me. But later on, I was relying on my memory. In fact, language learning depends on memorisation’. It is evident from the data that many participants consider memorisation as key to language learning. Perhaps the apparent reason for this perception could be the fact that learners tend to browse through in their memories whenever confronted by any communicative challenge in a real-life situation. One may possess volumes of books or notes on a particular language, but it is only that which one carries in his/her memory that can be recalled and become beneficial in real life communicative situations. Not even a book in one’s hand at the time of face-to-face communication would render any help to a speaker during conversation.

Another possible explanation, that could help to understand why the participants in this study tend to attach great importance to memorisation strategy, can be inferred from Krashen et al. (1979) study. As they have stated under the section 2.5 of the literature review chapter, memorised expressions (formulaic speeches) make-up for second language learners’ incompetency to produce creative and automatic speeches in their early phase of acquisition. As adults, they may not afford to
observe the silent period as is the case with children. Adults, because of their roles and needs, are likely to be pressured to speak and function in the L2, and the possible way to minimise this pressure, is to memorise a few expressions that would serve their basic linguistic needs in their new host societies.

It can be inferred from the data that even the initial writing of L2 lexical items or expressions by some acquirers, was just a way to aid memorisation in their early phase of acquisition when they could not instantly catch the lexical item or the intended expression from the interlocutors as they speak. By repeatedly reading through their notes, they could eventually memorise the expressions.

5.6.2 Simplification

Another equally important strategy used by Malawian immigrants to boost their performance in the target language, is simplification through transfer. While many studies (e.g. Tarone, 1980; Ellis, 1986) that have tackled the question of the simplification strategy appear to dwell more on the transfer of a grammatical rule from L1 to L2, the participants in this study however, do not seem to be concerned about language rules. They are however, concerned with semantic understanding of the L2 terms which eventually lead to understand the target language. Thus, they use their first language as a basis for their hypothesis about the meaning for a particular L2 lexical item. When asked about the tactics she employed to enhance the understanding of isiZulu, a young lady, interviewee number 4 said: ‘whenever I heard them talking, I used to exchange my knowledge of Chichewa with isiZulu. I could tell the meaning from the sound of an isiZulu word by relating it to a Chichewa word’.

As previously discussed in the literature review under the section 4.3.5.2, ‘linguistic distance’, there appears to exist many similarities between isiZulu and Chichewa, the Malawi’s national language which also acts as the country’s lingua-franca. Having realised the fact that the two languages are closely related to each other, the acquirers take advantage of the condition and use their knowledge of Chichewa to hypothesise the meaning of isiZulu words in a given sentence. Through this strategy, Malawians are able to develop a good chunk of isiZulu linguistic knowledge.
5.6.3 Inferencing

Ellis (1986) notes that second language learners can sometimes be able to arrive at the correct grammatical rule of their target language by attending to the available L2 input or the extra-lingual inferencing (the context). In a similar fashion with Ellis’s finding, though not on grammatical rule inference, this study has found out that the Malawian acquirers of isiZulu are able to grasp the meaning of an isiZulu lexical item through the context under which the language is spoken. For instance, interviewee (number 3) reports: ‘Sometimes I could also learn by observing the body language of the speaker, for example, when they say ‘woza la’ [come here], with speaker’s fingers pointing to him/her, automatically I come to know that I am being called’. The extra-lingual context such as body movement on the part of an interlocutor, therefore, plays an important role of assisting the learners obtain the isiZulu knowledge and improve on their own progress in key areas of internalising the language, storing and retrieving it.

5.6.4 Meaning negotiation

The findings from the empirical data do also reveal that some acquirers use a strategy of asking for the meaning or the name of an object from interlocutors, if they do not know and feel the need to know it. For Malawian immigrants, this process can be achieved by using one or a combination of the following: the target language itself, limited knowledge of English coupled perhaps with an activity of either a learner or an interlocutor pointing to the object. Interviewee number 2, says: ‘… sometimes I could pick up an object I wanted to know (its name) and ask them what is called in isiZulu, In some instances, one could point at something while mentioning its name and ask you to bring it to him or her’.

5.6.5 Translation

Translation, though sounds similar to the meaning negotiation strategy mentioned above, is another tactic the Malawian isiZulu acquirers use in order to enhance their
performance in the language. Liao (2006), as mentioned in section 2.11.6 of the literature review, comments that although translation was associated more with second language teachers, the practice does also constitute an important strategy for L2 learners as well. In line with Liao’s (2006) observation, this study has shown that learners do use translation as an effective tool to arrive at the meaning of an L2 lexical item. Interviewee number 3 said: ‘… Sometimes I could pick up a word from a song and look for the meaning’.

It might be imperative this far, to mention that although the study is comparative in nature, some questions could not yield comparable data from the two participating groups. For example, a question about learning strategies could not be posed to Nigerian participants simply because their prior responses failed to indicate that they are seriously acquiring the language beyond the greeting, hence the question about learning strategies was deemed not applicable to them.

It is clear from the way Malawian participants use different language learning strategies that they are committed to learning isiZulu as a destination language. This is in contrast to the Nigerian participants, whom, as pointed above, do not appear to make any effort to learn the language.

5.7 Destination Language Choice

As rightly observed by Chiswick and Miller (1994), choosing which language to learn might not be an easy task for immigrants residing in a multilingual destination. They observe that immigrants often choose a language which is closer to their language in the country of origin. They further state that immigrants would go for a language with a wider use in the destination region or country.

In consistence with the previous studies, and South Africa being the emerging new multilingual destination country for many immigrants from the African continent, this study has found out that immigrants tend to choose an indigenous language that they perceive to be easy to learn and the one which dominates their area of residence. Interview number 5 reported ‘…it was imperative for me to learn one of the South African languages and it happened that the easiest and the widely used
language was isiZulu, hence; decided to go for it’. Interviewee number 1, when asked why she chose to learn isiZulu out of many South African indigenous languages, she responded: ‘In contrast to other languages that involve too much dragging of the tongue, I find isiZulu to be very easy to learn’.

5.8 The impact of an original societal multilingualism on destination language acquisition

One of the key findings of this research, if not the new finding for that matter, is the impact of the nature of multilingualism in the origin African country, on the acquisition of another African indigenous language in a destination African country. Despite its preliminary character, this study has found out that African immigrants who come from multilingual African countries that have not adopted one of their indigenous languages as a lingua-franca; officially or otherwise, are most likely to find it difficult to learn another African language in African destination countries. A close analysis of the empirical data from both participating groups of Malawian and Nigerian immigrants show, on the one hand, that Nigeria, with its vast language resource, does not have any functioning common indigenous African language that could linguistically unite Nigerians from various linguistic and ethnic backgrounds. Instead, they use English as a lingua-franca, a practice which appears to affect them negatively when confronted with a situation requiring the learning of another African language. When asked about her experience with regard to native languages of South Africa, a Nigerian interviewee number 8 responded:

…like I told you earlier that in Nigeria we have a diverse culture and many languages, so, here it was not a challenge for me because even in Nigeria, I do not understand Hausa, I do not understand Yoruba, I do not understand Igbo because I am an Edo person. So, if I come here and I do not understand another language, it is like I am staying in Nigeria, it makes no difference.

Another Nigerian interviewee number 10 reported: ‘... it is very interesting because you expect that people will speak to you in English and that is what we were exposed to, and the next thing you hear is the local language’.

Malawian participants, on the other hand, appear to be prepared and expecting to learn another African language for their integration into their host community. This is so perhaps because of their home experience with Chichewa, which is the country’s
national language, and which also serves as the country’s lingua-franca. They do not seem to be shocked by their encounter with isiZulu, but rather, look forward to acquiring it as they regard it as a tool for their unification with the natives. Furthermore, Malawians seem to consider it a challenge worth to be worked on, if one is unable to function in a dominant language, regardless of the economic status attached to the language.

5.9 Self-reported competency in isiZulu

As rightly observed by Oskarsson (1980), second or destination language learners or acquirers have the ability to determine their own language competency, as long as they possess a measuring tape through which they can gauge their competence in the target language. LeBlanc and Panchaud (1985) note that although the self-assessment research instrument has been extensively used in the disciplines of psychology, sociology and business over the years, the tool has been rarely used in second language learning and teaching research.

Being exploratory research in the area of destination language acquisition, this study would be incomplete, if it did not include self-assessment reports about the participants’ perceived oral proficiency in isiZulu. One thing that comes clear from the patterns of the reported competencies, is that, there seems to exist a clear agreement between participants’ reported ratings of competency and prior descriptions about their own individual accounts of experiences with isiZulu encounter in Johannesburg. While many Malawian immigrants appear to report some gains in isiZulu to an extent of being able to converse to a certain degree, most Nigerians seem not to exceed the level of basic memorised forms of isiZulu greetings. When asked to rate her level of isiZulu, a Nigerian interviewee number 6 responded: ‘Not well because I do not understand the language except the greeting’. Another interviewee number 8 reported: ‘I would say very poor because I do not speak the language’. Malawians however, as indicated above, appear to register some remarkable gains in as far as the acquisition of isiZulu is concerned. For instance, a Malawian interviewee number 3 said: ‘I speak isiZulu though sometimes I get confused with some words that are very close to isiXhosa as I find the two languages closely related’. Another Malawian interviewee number 5 responded: ‘I
am at level 3, can speak and understand isiZulu well’. It is evident from the data that linguistic gains of the participants differ according to their country of origin, despite the availability of access to equal potential opportunities of acquiring the language.

There is a substantial number of variables (Economic, social, psychological, and cultural), that appear to differentiate the Malawian informants, who report acquisition, from the Nigerian nationals, who do not report any significant gains in the language. A number of factors contribute to varying levels of acquisition as follows:

Firstly, varying contexts of learning. As mentioned in the literature review, Saville-Troike (2012) states that different language learning contexts lead to different social experiences, which, consequently contribute to differences in the quality and quantity of L2 input on the part of the learners. Most Malawians, as previously mentioned, work hand-in-hand with the locals as unskilled laborers in the country’s informal sector, a situation that puts them under pressure for the need to master the target language in order to communicate freely with their native colleagues at work. On the other hand, the data reveals that many Nigerian citizens run various forms of small businesses, hence their need for the local language might not be that great, and their contact with the locals might be minimal compared to that of Malawian immigrants who may enjoy a regular contact and interaction with their local fellows at work places. Additionally, the varying social context of isiZulu learning between the two groups can also be explained in line with Allport’s Intergroup Contact Hypothesis (AICH) (as cited by Pettigrew, 2013). According to AICH, positive effects of intergroup contact happen in four conditions: Equal group status, common goals between the two or more groups in contact, intergroup cooperation and support from the authority, law or custom. A close look at the type of contact between Malawian immigrants and the local South Africans in the informal labour force appears to meet the first three conditions. They are equals in the sense that they are all workers. They have a common goal of fulfilling their duties at their work places and they also seem to cooperate despite diversity of their ethnic background. All this might not be the case in business-oriented interaction between Nigerian nationals and the locals. In sum, Malawian immigrants’ social experience in the labour force appears to yield a more quality and substantial amount of input, compared to that of Nigerians in the business area.
Secondly, the educational background: The finding about the effect of educational background on language acquisition, under section 5.4.3.5 above, indicated that higher prior education on the part of L2 would not have any advantage on acquisition of an African language. Further to this finding, it has been inferred from the data that the wide difference in the levels of education between members from the Malawian and Nigerian nationals, appear to account as well for their differences in isiZulu acquisition. While most Nigerian immigrants appear to be well educated, many Malawians foreigners in the informal sector, are not that learned. An analysis of the demographic profiles of the Malawian participants reveals that many of them have not even reached secondary school level. Because of their advanced levels of education, many Nigerians appear to view and interpret some isiZulu learning encounters negatively. For example, insistence by some Zulu natives to speak isiZulu to them is taken as an act of selfishness, disrespect and an attempt of imposing isiZulu on other nationals in order to claim powers and supremacy over them. This interpretation appears to be informed by their education. Knowledge about one's rights and the knowledge about the history of the target language group appear to contribute to some kind of resistance on the part of the Nigerians against the seemingly provoking learning situations. Malawians however, seem to welcome this development, and regard it as a challenge posed to them in good faith by the locals, to encourage them to learn the language and be like them, language-wise at least. Besides affecting the interpretation of various learning situations, the education factor can as well be looked from Schumann’s (1986) ‘social patterns dominance’ perspective as discussed in the literature review under section 2.9.1.1. That is, because of their educational status, which appears to be higher compared to most ordinary South Africans, Nigerians may seem not to see any need to learn the language of those deemed inferior.

Thirdly, linguistic distance: As discussed in the section under Linguistic distance in the literature review (Chiswick and Miller, 2001; Saville-Troike, 2012), not all second/destination languages are equally learnable for speakers of different mother tongues. It has been empirically established in section 5.4.3.2 of the current chapter that Malawian languages such as Chichewa and Chiyao, are closely related to isiZulu as all fall under the Bantu family of languages. Due to structural and semantic
and even historical closeness between the origin and the target languages, Malawian nationals find isiZulu as an easy language option available for them to acquire.

Further empirical evidence about the positive correlation between mother tongue and L2 similarities, and acquisition of the L2, can be inferred from the data that speaks about Zimbabweans' higher proficiency in isiZulu. When asked how her improvement in isiZulu came about, Malawian interviewee (number 4) replied: ‘I had a Ndebele friend from Zimbabwe from whom I learned a lot about this language (isiZulu), as we used to interact using isiZulu’. When quizzed to explain the relationship between being a Ndebele and knowledge of isiZulu, she responded:

I think these people originally are from South Africa, and for whatever reasons, they went to settle in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. Their language is the same as isiZulu, and that is why they find it easy (linguistically) when they come to Africa.

Contrary to Malawian languages, Nigerian languages do not appear to be anywhere near isiZulu, as the data could not establish any notable similarities between the different Nigerian languages and isiZulu, thus, making isiZulu a difficult language option for Nigerians to acquire. One’s first language, according to Savilee-Troike (2012), is key in aiding second language acquisition, particularly in the initial phase of acquisition. This is because acquisition, at this stage, largely relies on various clues from learners’ prior knowledge, which include language knowledge. Language similarity therefore, is most likely to aid the learners’ power of apperception as noted by Gass and Selinker (1994) in the chapter under literature review, section 2.5. In brief, linguistic distance therefore, contributes to varying levels of isiZulu acquisition between Malawian and Nigerian nationals, hence constitutes one among the reasons that account for differences in the performance of isiZulu by the two groups.

Fourthly: one of the most striking observations to emerge from the empirical data, was that of the effect of the nature of multilingualism in the country of origin on target language acquisition in the receiving country. As pointed out in section 5.8 of this chapter, multilingualism in African states without the adoption of a local indigenous language as a lingua-franca, renders its citizens a grave challenge when confronted
with a situation in a destination country that requires acquisition of another dominant African language. Those that have an African language as a common medium of instruction in their countries of origins, as is the case with Malawians, appear to be mentally prepared and not to be shocked with an experience to learn another African language that would enable them to connect with the general masses. Unlike those that have adopted English as their lingua-franca, the general assumption is that as foreigners, their use of English would be embraced by the locals, which is not the case in South Africa. The finding about the effect of multilingual environment of immigrants’ country of origin, is an interesting one, as it is in contrast to what is known from Kovacs and Mehler’s (2009) proposition that multilingual environment of countries increases children’s capacity to learn more languages in future. It is suspected that the inconsistency could be due to a reduced attention given to learning of African native languages by Africans themselves. While multilingual environment of the sending countries may have the potential to enhance acquisition or learning of European international destination languages, this might not be the case with African destination languages as discussed.

The possible fifth contributory factor is the difference in preferred ways of learning the target language. While most uneducated immigrants appear to enjoy acquiring a destination language from its naturalistic settings, some learned immigrants seem to prefer the formal way of learning a language, if not in a classroom situation, at least they would prefer engaging a formal tutor to formally teach them the language. In view of this, one might be tempted to conclude that some educated immigrants are obscured of the abundant potential language learning opportunities available in the informal language learning environments of the host society. When asked whether or not he is satisfied with his limited knowledge of isiZulu, a Nigerian interviewee number 8 responded: ‘No, I am not satisfied, I would want to improve’. And when further questioned on how she intends to improve, she replied: ‘I would like to get someone from the Zulu who can teach me the language’. Another Nigerian interviewee number 7, when questioned about the best way to learn isiZulu, he replied: ‘I think the easiest way to learn it, is to enrol for a language program’. It is undoubtedly that this scenario has the potential to negatively affect the acquirers’ performance in the target language, as they are most likely to be switched-off
mentally, neglect and skip any naturally emerging input of the language due to their preference of formal ways of language learning and drillings by a recognized formal tutor.

The difference in the preferred contexts of learning can be explained in light of Skehan’s (1991) field dependent (FD) and field independent (FI) categorisation of learning contexts which he calls ‘learning styles’. As discussed in section 2.8 of the literature review, field dependents are those learners who are interactionally cantered, while field independent are those who prefer analytic ways of learning. Thus, interactional learners prefer leaning a language by interacting with friends and the natives, while analytic learners would prefer analysing a given text. Furthermore, field dependent would involve adopting what Naiman et al. (1978) call ‘active task approach’ of language learning. The active task approach, as discussed in the literature review, requires L2 learners taking advantage of a learning environment, and being positive about the learning opportunities. In this study, while Nigerian participants appear to be analytically oriented to isiZulu learning, Malawians, on the other hand, are more inclined to interactional-based kind of learning.

The sixth factor that accounts for the differences in the levels of isiZulu acquisition between Malawian and Nigerian immigrants, is the difference in the management of the affective variables. In fact, this factor, incorporates many other factors discussed above. As mentioned in the chapter under literature review, Naiman et al. (1978) cite the management of the affective factors among the five common effective strategies of language learning and use. This factor entails the ability to control any potentially stressing situations that could results from one’s inability to use a certain language material. This ability enables L2 learners to regulate their emotions, attitudes and motivations and other factors. No doubt that failure to control the affective variables would result in undesirable outcomes of language learning. A close analysis of the data appears to indicate that Nigerian participants are somehow weaker in the aspect of managing the psychological factors that result from their inability to use the language. This is evident from the way they respond to some learning situations as previously discussed. Furthermore, their inability to manage psychological factors can as well be noticed from their tendency of lacking self-encouragement spirit, in as far as the acquisition of isiZulu is concerned. When reporting an encounter he had
with a taxi driver at MTN rank in Johannesburg, a Nigerian interviewee number 10 said: ‘When you ask for something in English, it seems as if you have committed an abomination, the way they look at you, you would feel like running away’.

One of the best ways of managing the affects, according to Naiman et al. (1978), is to memorise some courtesy phrases and expressions. This strategy may include memorizing some expressions useful in public transport. Drawing from own experience, the natives tend to appreciate when L2 learner makes an effort to speak the language. Even when one fails to sustain the conversation, they would still be positive and could easily give in and speak English, unlike when one shows no interest, right at the beginning.

Another final possible explanation deduced from the data, and which accounts for the differences in isiZulu performance between Malawian and Nigerian immigrants, is the varying degree of attention to the target language input by the two participating groups. Despite the failure to register a significant progress in isiZulu acquisition, most Nigerian immigrants reported to have been exposed to the language in many ways. For instance, a Nigerian interviewee number 8, when asked, where and how often she hears isiZulu being spoken, she responded: ‘Generally, like everywhere you go, in buses, taxi, in streets and shops many people speak the language’. Another interviewee number 9 answered: ‘Almost every day because I interact with many locals here at my business.

An important question that could be asked in relation to the confessions above is, why there has not been any considerable progress of isiZulu acquisition on the part of Nigerians despite being exposed to the language? A possible answer to this question could be lack of attention to isiZulu data that contain input necessary for acquisition of the language. Scholars, such as Kormos (2006) and Schmidt (1990) argue that L2 learners require attention in order for them to be able to notice any potential input from the available L2 language material. Failure to pay attention would result in failure to notice, and if you cannot notice, then no learning can take place and learners would always remain uncertain about their language abilities. Ghanbarpour (2016) observes that uncertainty about one’s language competency would lead to lack of confidence on the part of L2 learner.
With regard to Malawian participants, the data reveals many instances of them paying attention to potential input from the isiZulu materials provided by the interlocutors. A Malawian interviewee (number 1), when asked what helped her to start picking up some isiZulu, she replied: ‘As I said earlier, I learn isiZulu by interacting with the customers who come to buy airtime, data bundles or seek any other MTN services’. It is clear from this scenario, that the acquirer was able to gain some linguistic input because of the attention she paid to the language data emerging from her customers. Another Malawian interviewee (number 2) reported: ‘I started learning isiZulu from my work place. We were a mixed team of Malawians and the local South Africans’. Again, here is another indication that this learner was able to pay attention to language materials emanating from his South African workmates. Probably, without attention and noticing on his part, no case of acquisition could have been reported.

Finally, as noted by Becker (2007), it is important to mention that factors of language acquisition do not work independent of each other, but rather, they function in collaboration with each other. That is to say, meeting the requirements of one factor would not necessarily translate to acquisition, due to the possibility of that factor being affected by the other non-complying factors.

5.10 Language purity

It is evident from the analysis of the data that the notion of language purity does exist, not only among the native speakers of the language concerned, but also among the acquirers of the language. This study found out that some competent language learners and acquirers reported lower grades of acquisition, not because of failure to meet some communicative demands, but because of their belief that the acquired language might not be pure in its totality because of the influences of the area where the language might have been acquired from. When asked why he does not want to indicate that he is excellent in isiZulu, interviewee number 2: replied:

… languages are problematic. Even for the native Zulus who have been raised in Johannesburg, when they travel to KwaZulu Natal, they realise that certain
aspects of their isiZulu become questionable. There are varieties of languages spoken here in Johannesburg which influence the quality of isiZulu.

Another Malawian interviewee number 5, said: ‘... you would claim to be excellent if you can match a rural Zulu native speaker’. While one would easily understand the basis of the notion of language purity from the natives’ perspective, it is however difficult to explain, as to why an acquirer would underrate his or her own competence based on such beliefs. Perhaps, the acquirers’ behaviour might have been informed by either their prior linguistic beliefs in the country of origin or influenced by the repeated claims of linguistic purism by native speakers of the target language in the destination country.

As the study involves the acquisition of spoken isiZulu, it is not surprising to note that the emerged data on purism centered around the phonetic element of purism directed at foreign sounds. Interviewee number 5, reported: ‘...deep Zulus can sometimes tell me that ‘you are not Zulu’ but you are very good in the language’, and when further asked to explain how the natives would know that he is not a native Zulu, he replied: ‘They discover it through the tongue. IsiZulu, just like isiXhosa, is a click language. So, we expose ourselves through our inability to produce these clicks’. A further close analysis of the data reveals that it is the nationalist oriented purism that appears to be advanced with respect to isiZulu. The nationalist or ethnographic purism, according to Brunstad (2003), is the type of linguistic purism that views rural dialects as pure as the urban varieties of the same languages. Perhaps, it is in light of this that most Malawian acquirers of isiZulu perceive their language as impure when compared with a variety of isiZulu spoken in various typically Zulu remote areas of KwaZulu Natal.

5.11 Summary

In this chapter the empirical data were discussed and interpreted within the context of the extant literature. The chapter commenced with a discussion on the status and roles of isiZulu. The data appear to have confirmed the status of isiZulu which plays a remarkable role of a lingua-franca among speakers of various indigenous languages in the city of Johannesburg. Thereafter, the chapter discussed other
emergent issues pertinent to language acquisition, such as exposure, attitudes and motivation, linguistic distance, educational background, the informal teachers of a language, learning strategies, language choice, impact of the nature of multilingualism of the original society on acquisition of a destination language in another multilingual country. Furthermore, the chapter discussed the data on self-assessed competency reported by the participants. Possible explanations to account for the differences between the Malawian and Nigerian acquaintances to isiZulu were given. Lastly, the chapter tackled the notion of linguistic purism which appears to contribute to the acquirers’ tendency of underrating their attained competency due to a belief that the acquired language might not be that pure.

The following chapter presents a summary of the findings, conclusions, limitations and recommendations for further research.
CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

6.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a restatement of the purpose of the study, followed by a brief recap of the theoretical frameworks, research questions, research methodology, the main findings and the conclusions. Furthermore, the chapter discusses the limitations of the study, recommendations for future research, and practical and theoretical implications for the research.

6.2 Summary and conclusions of the study

The purpose of this research was to explore, compare and analyse the isiZulu acquisition experiences of the Malawian and Nigerian immigrants operating in the informal economy of South Africa. Precisely, the study aimed at determining factors that could account for any emerging disparities in trends of isiZulu acquisition by the two groupings. Since the participants of the study comprised of respondents from two different sovereign countries, attempts were made to provide demographic breakdown of each of the participating groups. Among the key questions this research sought to address are:

5. What are the Malawian and Nigerian experiences with regard to acquisition of isiZulu in Johannesburg?

6. In which ways have the Malawian and Nigerian immigrants been exposed to isiZulu?

7. What roles does isiZulu play to foreign nationals and how do immigrants from Malawi and Nigeria relate to native South Africans?

8. How do the Malawian and Nigerian immigrants respond to learning of isiZulu?

This research study was approached in light of Schumann’s (1986 and 1978) Acculturation Model and Chiswick and Miller’s (2001) Model of Destination Language
Acquisition. The study adopted the qualitative research approach and a phenological research design suitable for the exploration of people’s lived experiences such as language acquisition. The purposive sampling strategy was adopted and achieved through a networking or referral technique known as snowballing. The empirical data of this research was collected using one-on-one smart phone recorded interviews which were transcribed and subjected to a critical thematic analysis and a subsequent detailed discussion of the findings.

One of the key findings of this study which is consistent with previous studies, is the affirmation regarding the status of isiZulu among indigenous languages in the country. Despite their varying degree of competence in the language, both Malawian and Nigerian participants unanimously pointed out the fact that isiZulu plays a role of lingua-franca among speakers of various indigenous languages of South Africa. Perhaps, this could be the reason why most black South Africans expect any black foreign nationals to speak the language.

Through its empirical data, this study was able to determine the difference in language attitude and motivation between Malawian and Nigerian respondents. While Malawian participants appeared to have a low affective filter for isiZulu acquisition, Nigerian respondents, on the other hand, were found to have high affective filter for the language, thus, affecting the extent to which they can acquire the language.

In addition to accessing some isiZulu in various public spaces of the country, the findings in this study have revealed that most non-skilled Malawian immigrants are intensely exposed to the language through their workmates in various work places in the country. This finding however, may not necessarily imply that all other colleagues working as laborers in the informal sector of the economy are isiZulu native speakers, but rather, they consist of the natives and other foreign nationals who are competent speakers of isiZulu, as is the case with most Zimbabweans from the Ndebele ethnic group. Unlike the Malawians, most Nigerian nationals are exposed to isiZulu through the local buyers who come to patronize their small businesses. This being the case, the study concluded that Nigerians’ exposure to isiZulu might not be as strong as that of their Malawian counterparts, considering the nature of interaction
in business places which appear to be briefer and temporal compared to that of workmates at a business establishment.

The awesome finding of this study has been that of the discovery of an impact of a nature of multilingualism in the origin country, on acquisition of another African destination language in another multilingual African country, specifically in the context of the African continent where multilingualism is prevalent. It has been established in the study that language acquirers from an African country that does not have one of its indigenous languages functioning as the country’s lingua-franca, at the official level or not, would find it difficult to learn another African language in a destination country. The assumption in most cases has been that with English all should be fine.

Another equally important finding of the study has been that of women being the best informal teachers of a language, as opposed to most men, particularly young men who often report negative experiences in their social interactions with others. Learning and teaching are socially mediated processes involving high personal values and beliefs of both the learners and teachers. Teaching therefore, be it formal or informal, is likely to be affected by these personal values and beliefs of teachers.

It has also been established in this study that many Malawian languages are genetically close to isiZulu. On the other hand, the study revealed that there exists a wide linguistic distance between isiZulu and most Nigerian languages. Consequently, the acquisition of isiZulu becomes a more challenging exercise to many Nigerians, compared to their Malawian counterparts who appear to be more acquainted with the language. The overall results indicate that Malawian immigrants acquire isiZulu much better than most Nigerian nationals for the reasons discussed in chapter 5 of the study.

6.3 Limitations of the study and recommendations for future research

As is the case with the majority of scientific studies, there may be some potential limitations in this research and therefore, the findings should be seen in view of these limitations. The first possible limitation in this study is of methodological nature, specifically the instrumentation part of it. The data for the study were collected using
self-assessment measures, which are prone to biases as the participants may choose to respond in a manner, they view to be socially appropriate. This could affect the reliability and validity of the study. In this study, however, attempts were made by the researcher to structure certain sensitive questions in a manner that will not attract socially desirable responses. This was achieved by posing indirect questions so that respondents could project their own views into others; and by so doing, honest responses were provided.

In order to ensure that any potential problem of inflated self-rating is detected, the researcher deployed an Over-claiming Technique (OCT), so that any of such problems could easily be detected. This was done through a continuous process of critical evaluation of the self-serving responses in order to determine any deviations or inconsistencies in the patterns of the self-reports. In this study, for instance, conclusions about variability in levels of isiZulu competence between Malawian and Nigerian immigrants were not reached by merely just looking at the self-ratings section of the study. Instead, such conclusions were arrived at through a continuous evaluation of the agreement between the self-reported level of proficiency and the respondents’ levels of affective filter. This was with regard to key predictors of language proficiency such as attitude, motivation, intensity of exposure and other factors that affect acquisition as discussed in the previous chapter.

Despite attempts being made to control any possible problems of self-presentation arising from self-assessment reports, a total control may not be guaranteed as elements of bias may still infiltrate into the research. This being the case, it is recommended that future studies should consider adopting and applying testing measures like that of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI). The OPI is used to determine the extent to which an acquirer is able to speak the language in question. This can be done through a conversational kind of tests that could follow a predetermined structure. The idea is to determine the more accurate level of one’s isiZulu performance and the degree to which the acquirers’ language ability would appear to vanish.
Another methodological limitation of this research is the fact that participation was limited only to immigrants in the informal economy of the country. That is, Malawian and Nigerian foreign nationals working either as unskilled labourers or those running small business enterprises. Despite meeting the fundamentals of qualitative research, of which generalisation is not among its core focus, this limitation in the scope of the study, may have the potential to affect the extent to which the findings could be generalised, given the heterogeneity nature of the immigrant groups. Future studies therefore, may consider adopting various statistical measures and widening the scope to include the skilled and documented immigrants operating in the formal economy of the country. By so doing, the data will be more representative, allowing a wider generalisation of its resultant findings.

A further notable limitation of the study was the English preparation of the interview guide. Some respondents, particularly those from Malawian origin were illiterate, and even those with minimal level of literacy could not understand English. This limitation however, was addressed through the researcher’s provision of the Chichewa and Chiyao interpretation during the interview proceedings. This was possible because of the researcher’s competency in the two Malawian languages. Further studies however, may consider the preparation of separate equivalent Chichewa and Chiyao interview schedules to be used by the researcher or those providing interpretation and translation services.

The final possible limitation of this research may arise from issues to do with the researcher himself. Conducting a comparative study that involves participants from two distinct cultures, with a researcher sharing the same cultural background with one of the participating groups, can sometimes be tempting for the researcher, as he/she may hold assumptions and motivations that are based on his own cultural perspective. The researcher, being a Malawian national himself, attempts were made in this study, to see to it that comments made on both Malawian and Nigerian responses were not in any way, influenced by his own cultural orientation. Furthermore, any preconceived biases were suppressed by ensuring that any discussion and interpretation of the findings is backed by quotations from the empirical data itself, rather than making unsubstantiated claims. Additionally, the researcher ensured that leading questions were avoided.
6.4 Implications for practice

Notwithstanding its limitations, this study has provided some insights into second language teaching practices, which; if they were to be incorporated into applied linguistics courses for teachers, classroom-based second language learning and teaching, would be greatly enhanced. Key among these insights, is the importance of taking into consideration the social context of second language teaching. However exploratory, this research has reaffirmed beyond any doubt a point that the mere acquisition of facts and the general knowledge about a particular language, do not make one become a good teacher in that language, but a combination of second language apprenticeship courses and acquisition of the positive socio-emotional skills on the part of a learner-teacher, is most likely to produce a good teacher. In this study, the reason why women emerged to be the best informal teachers of isiZulu, is not because of the biological feminine features in them, but rather, it is because of their positive socio-emotional skills which promote a good relationship between them, and the potential destination language acquirers, as well as restoring confidence in them. The study therefore, calls upon the educational policy makers and those responsible in designing curricula for second language teachers, to look beyond the mere provision of academic knowledge and skills and include the development of competencies in the socio-emotional dimensions of the learner-teachers. As noted by Elias (2003), the socio-emotional skills are the ‘missing link’ between academic knowledge and achievement of progress in almost every socially mediated activities, second language learning included. One may be good academically but may lack the socio-emotional related abilities that are necessary for aiding delivery and propelling the required progress.

Another equally important implication for educational policy makers and the second language teaching curricula designers, is perhaps the importance of affording second language learners more opportunities to access the language. This may be done by ensuring that each and every classroom language activity contains a new quality linguistic input necessary for acquisition to take place. In this study, one of the
factors that have contributed to varying levels of isiZulu acquisition between Malawian and Nigerian immigrants, is the extent to which each group is exposed to the language and, possibly, the quality of the linguistic input in that exposure. While Malawians appeared to have been deeply exposed to isiZulu in the labour force, Nigerian exposure to the language in their small business establishments, seemed to be partial and not containing quality input. This is because of the nature of interaction between a buyer and a seller, which is characterised by briefness and mostly involving limited and specific trade-related words and phrases.

The study’s final recommendation to practice, particularly to second language teachers, is that they should allow second language learners to speak the target language when they feel ready to do so, rather than expecting a quick language performance from them. It has been shown in this study that language performance expectation of the natives from the migrants who have not yet mastered the language, creates a feeling of humiliation and embarrassment on the part of the acquirers, an experience which can lead to the development of negative attitude towards the interlocutors and the language itself. Likewise, in a classroom situation, learners could easily be put off, if forced to speak before they have acquired enough language materials that can enable them to confidently speak the language concerned.

The following section discusses theoretical contributions of the thesis to the literature on destination language acquisition and second language acquisition in general.

6.5 Theoretical contributions

The thesis has theoretically provided additional knowledge in the area of destination language acquisition in particular and second language acquisition in general. Firstly, it has been established in this study, that multilingualism in African countries without adoption of one of its indigenous languages as a unifying language, affects the acquisition of African destination languages, when citizens migrate to another African country. As it has been established in this research that most Nigerians would not find it to be a problem not being able to understand any African language in South Africa, simply because even in their own country they do not understand each other
except through the medium of English. The new knowledge therefore, is that, in the African context, multilingualism without one of indigenous languages functioning as the country’s lingua-franca, would negatively impact on citizens acquisition of another African language in another African multilingual country, as the assumption is that with English, all is fine.

Secondly, the marriage of a migrant to a native spouse has been widely thought to enhance efficiency in the acquisition of a target language on the part of the migrant spouse. This study however, has found out that this is not always the case as, sometimes, it is the native spouse who happens to succeed in acquiring the language of his/her migrant spouse.

Thirdly, it has been established in this study that prior high levels of education, on the part of the migrants, has not any remarkable effects on the acquisition of African indigenous languages, but rather, such effects are limited to acquisition or learning of international languages such as English, French, Portuguese and others.

Lastly, another notable contribution to theories of destination language acquisition is that different paths of economic activities taken by various migrant groups in the host country, contribute to varying levels of destination language acquisition.

6.6 Summary

This chapter presented a summary of the entire thesis. It commenced with the restatement of the research purpose, key research questions and the theoretical and methodological approaches adopted by the study. This was followed by a brief recap of the key research findings and conclusions arrived at. Furthermore, the chapter discussed the limitations of the study and consequently, recommendations for future research were made. At the end, implications for practice as well as theoretical contributions in the literature on destination or second language acquisition were presented.
References


Sources consulted but not cited


Appendices

Interview Guide
(PhD)

1. Kindly introduce yourself and state in which year did you come to South Africa and how old were you when you first entered the country?

2. What is your educational background?

3. What do you do for a living?

4. What is your marital status?

5. What is the first language/s you learned as a child?

6. What is the language that you speak most often?

7. What language is commonly used at your work place and residential area?

8. What is your experience / encounter regarding acquisition of isiZulu in Johannesburg?

9. What are the similarities between your language and isiZulu?

10. Is it important to learn isiZulu and Why?

11. Would you advise your children or relatives to learn isiZulu and why?

12. Where and how often do you hear isizulu being spoken?

13. What learning strategies do you employ to enhance acquisition?

14. State in which ways or instances have you been acquiring (learning) isiZulu in Johannesburg?

15. Give examples of isiZulu words, phrases or expressions that you learnt through the ways or instances mentioned above?

16. What practices in your view are perceived to either promote or inhibit the acquisition of isiZulu?
17. How many isiZulu speaking friends do you have and how would you describe them?

18. Who do you consider to be your main informal teacher(s) of isiZulu and state the reason?

19. Does long stay in Johannesburg mean that one would be more proficient in isiZulu than the new comers? In either ways, explain why?

20. Does educational background play any role in the acquisition of isiZulu? In either ways, explain how?

21. What isiZulu activities / programs are you interested in? (TV, radio, isiZulu newspapers, music, adult language classes, isiZulu website, etc)

22. What aspects of Zulu culture do you like? (customs, traditions, music, morals, religion, film, etc).

23. What is your ability in isiZulu?
   a) Doesn’t speak nor understand
   b) Doesn’t speak but understand some isiZulu
   c) Speaks and understand well
   d) I am Excellent.

24. If you were to rate your level of proficiency in isiZulu, what would be your level?
   a) Very well
   b) Well
   c) Not well
   d) Not at all

25. Are you satisfied with your current level of isiZulu? how do you intend to improve?
PARTICIPANTS CONSENT FORM

Research title: The Acquisition of isiZulu as a destination language by Malawian and Nigerian immigrants in Johannesburg.

Research Investigator: Shoaib Mzoma

Research Participant: ______________________________________________________

I thank you for initially agreeing to be interviewed as part of this study. However, it is an ethical requirement that, the participant should consent as to how information contained in his interview will be used. This form aims at ensuring that you fully understand your involvement and conditions of your participation. I request you to read the accompanying information sheet and sign this form or issue a verbal statement to certify that you approve the following:

- the interview will be recorded to ensure that the researcher do not miss out any invaluable input made by the respondent. The transcript will be produced.
- transcript will be analyzed by Mr. Shoaib Mzoma as the research investigator.
- access to transcript will be limited to Mr. Mzoma, my supervisors – Prof. Z. Mtumane and Dr. I.K. Mndawe, and the markers after its completion.
- will ensure that direct quotations, summary of interview content published in any academic outlet, are kept anonymous so that you cannot be identified.
- that the initial interview recordings will be deleted after transcribing the data.

By signing this form or issuance of verbal consent, I agree that:

- I am voluntarily participating in this research project, as I do also understand I have the right to stop the interview and withdraw my participation at any time of my choice.
- The transcribed interview quotation can be used as stated above.
- I acknowledge to have read the information sheet.
- I don’t expect to be rewarded for my participation.
- I confirm to have understood the explanation given to me.
- I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

Name
Permission to record interview proceedings

Name

Participant' Signature  Date

Researcher's Signature  Date
## DATA SUMMARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THEME</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Roles of isiZulu</strong>&lt;br&gt;(Sec 4.3.1, P. 112)</td>
<td>• announcements in public transport.</td>
<td>• helpful when you meet the police</td>
<td>• proposing love</td>
<td>• It facilitates communication</td>
<td>• ...you can easily ask for direction</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• If you have police case,... isiZulu would make life easy</td>
<td>• ...every place has its own common language and here is isiZulu.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• ...access to native knowledge.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>• ...shield against xenophobic attacks</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Status of isiZulu</strong>&lt;br&gt;(Sec 4.3.2, P. 113)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>• ‘Ngicela ukhulume isiZulu, awuyena mlungu’ [speak isiZulu because you are not a white person]</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Language expectation of natives from black immigrants</strong>&lt;br&gt;(Sec 4.3.3, P. 114)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exposure (Sect 4.3.4.1, P. 115)</td>
<td>• ...interacting with customers</td>
<td>• We were a mixed team of Malawians and the local... used to hear from friend who had lived in South Africa</td>
<td>• I had a Ndebele friend from Zim</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marriage and destination language acquisition (Sec 4.3.4.2 P. 116)</td>
<td>• through relationship, one can still learn a language. may help perfect pronunciation.</td>
<td>• It depends on your interest and whether the partner wants to pass the language to you. Sometimes it is the local spouse who ends up acquiring language of the migrant spouse.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linguistics enclaves (Sec 4.3.4.3, P. 116)</td>
<td>• ...my problem is that I spend most of my time with country men and women.</td>
<td>• Even in the case of having a bad experience with some of them, do not cut off completely.</td>
<td>---</td>
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<tr>
<td>Language motivation (Sect 4.3.4.4, P. 117)</td>
<td>• ...you need isiZulu to be able to communicate with the locals. ... you can only make friendship if you speak isiZulu.</td>
<td>• ... isiZulu enables me to communicate with the indigenous South Africans.</td>
<td>• I wanted to be comfortable among the isiZulu speaking people.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Age and L2 acquisition (Sec 4.3.5.1, P. 117) | • ...children are good in learning new language...because of their openness to each other.  
• They do not feel shy to speak nor afraid of ridicule  
• Children love each other and can teach one another without annoyances | • ... children learn isiZulu better and faster than adults simply because they are free to interact with their peers in school and outside school.  
• They have softer tongues compared to adults. | • Children...are good in picking up languages on their own ... because they interact well with their peers. |
### Linguistic distance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>When they say 'vula umnyango' or 'vala umnyango', the word 'vula' and 'vala' close to Chichewa.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The isiZulu word 'izolo', its Chichewa equivalent is 'dzulo'. There are many words that are similar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When they say: 'ufunani?' The Chichewa equivalent is 'ukufuna chani?'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So many similarities exist between isiZulu and Malawian languages. An isiZulu word 'umuntu' is equivalent to a Chichewa word 'munthu'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Length of residence (its effects on acquisition)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long stay does not mean one would know the language much better than the new comer.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'No (effects). ... it will depend on where the person lives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, it does not, what matters is your passion and intelligence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It depends on how one is good in associating with the locals.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Educational background

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>...no, As I said earlier, it all depends on flexibility of one’s tongue.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education can help you learn isiZulu in the sense that you can be able to inquire something you do not know through the medium of English.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not all, I have seen people who are well educated, but they are not able even to ask for a direction in isiZulu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, education do not have any impact on acquisition of isiZulu.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Malawian attitude towards the natives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>There will always be two types of people....</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>... a majority of them are good, of course, at times you meet those that are naughty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are those that are good, and some are not that good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... we would be wrong to label all the South Africans as bad or good.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Language choice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In contrast to other languages that involve too much dragging of the tongue, I find</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...the easiest and the widely used language is isiZulu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The best informal teachers of isiZulu (Sec 4.3.8, P. 121)</td>
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<td>Language learning strategies (Sec 4.3.9, P. 122)</td>
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<td>The best practices (Sec 4.4.10, P. 122)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Order of acquisition (Sec 4.3.11, P. 123)</td>
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| isiZulu easy to learn | | | |

 isiZulu easy to learn
### Proficiency and language purism
(Sec 4.3.12, P. 124)

| **•** Even for native Zulus who have been raised in Johannesburg, when they travel to Kwazulu-Natal they realise that certain aspects of their isiZulu become questionable |
| **•** There are varieties of languages spoken here in Johannesburg which influence quality of isiZulu |
| **•** ... you have to be a typical Zulu to be excellent in isiZulu. |
| **•** ...deep Zulus can sometimes tell me ‘you are not Zulu, but you are good in the language’. |
| **•** ... we expose ourselves through our inability to produce these clicks... |

### Reported competency
(4.3.13, P. 124)

| **•** I am at level 2, ‘well’. |
| **•** I can understand well but speaks very little. |
| **•** I can understand and speak isiZulu without any problem. |
| **•** I think I am at level 2, ‘well’. |
| **•** I can understand isiZulu and speak it as well. |
| **•** I can understand isiZulu and speak it as well. |
| **•** I can understand isiZulu and speak it as well. |
| **•** I can speak and understand isiZulu. |

### Definition of linguistic competency
(Sec 4.3.14, P. 126)

| **•** I wish I can improve and be able to converse in isiZulu |
| **•** One can only claim to be excellent in a particular language if he/she is able to understand the idioms and proverbs of that language.... |
### NIGERIAN INFORMANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THEME</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Status of isiZulu (Sec 4.5.1, P. 128)</td>
<td>• I used to hear Afrikaans speaking friends communicating with the locals in Zulu.</td>
<td></td>
<td>• If Zulu in South Africa can be placed and practiced as a unifying language, I think it will help a lot.</td>
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<td>• Most people here speak Zulu, but I prefer Setswana.</td>
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<td>Language expectation of the natives from black immigrants (Sec 4.5.2, P. 129)</td>
<td>• … many people… here in Johannesburg expect you to comprehend and speak the language (isiZulu).</td>
<td></td>
<td>• … the first thing they would speak is their language and they would expect you to respond.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Immediately they see your colour that you are black, then they will greet you ‘kunjani baba?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exposure (Sec 4.5.3.1, P. 129)</td>
<td>• I do not know why most people like speaking isiZulu in Johannesburg.</td>
<td>• Like everywhere you go, in buses, taxi, in streets and shops many people speak the language (isiZulu).</td>
<td></td>
<td>Almost every day because I interact with many locals.</td>
<td>• I use personal car. So, do not enter public transport</td>
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<tr>
<td>Motivation (Sec 4.5.3.2, P. 130)</td>
<td>• If you really want to show that you respect the people, then you must speak their language.</td>
<td></td>
<td>• If I speak it, it could help me mingle more with the locals.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age and L2 acquisition (Sec 4.5.3.3.1, P. 131)</td>
<td>• … children will learn the language faster because they are</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Children are always good in learning new languages than</td>
<td>• Because they go to school and interact with friends,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Linguistic distance (Sec 4.5.3.3.2, P. 131)</td>
<td>There are no similarities between the two languages (isiZulu and Yoruba)</td>
<td>It is not easy for me to notice similarities between Igbo and Zulu</td>
<td>They are completely different.</td>
<td>There are no similarities at all (isiZulu and Igbo). They sound so different.</td>
<td>There are no similarities (btwn isiZulu and Yoruba). The only similar word is ‘baba’.</td>
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<td>Length of residence (Sec 4.5.3.3.3, P. 132)</td>
<td>It is about and individual, you can be here for some months or a year and you can still learn the language.</td>
<td>It depends on individual's willingness to learn the language and not a mere number of years one spends in the country.</td>
<td>It is not about the longer you stay, it is about interest in learning.</td>
<td>… language learning is not about how many years you have spent in the country.</td>
<td>… it depends on interest and where you stay.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Educational background (Sec 4.5.3.3.4, P. 133)</td>
<td>I do not think it has any impact at all.</td>
<td>Language has nothing to do with education</td>
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<td>… once you have an alternative, you would want to go for a short cut.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nigerians attitude toward the natives and their language (Sec 4.5.4, P. 133)</td>
<td>… in this country if you do not understand their language, they cannot associate with you. If you ask me about the usefulness of it (isiZulu) to me, I can tell that it is</td>
<td>…they are cool people, I have some friends who are Zulu.</td>
<td></td>
<td>They do not really love foreigners.</td>
<td>… wherever they may be (Zulus), they are lousy, very louse people and want to take over.</td>
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<td>Information</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.5.5, P. 134</td>
<td>The best informal teachers of isiZulu are likely to be women because they talk to themselves. Ladies are very friendly in this country. I would say men, particularly those who are older, can teach better.</td>
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<td>4.5.6, P. 135</td>
<td>Informal vs formal preferences: I think the easiest way to learn isiZulu is to enrol for a language programme. I would like to get someone from the Zulu who can teach me the language. I would like to meet someone who can really teach me the language.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.5.7, P. 135</td>
<td>Original societal multilingualism and destination language acquisition: Well, in Nigeria we have different languages and the general language used is English. When I heard people speaking isiZulu I was surprised. I do not understand Yoruba, I do not understand Igbo because I am Edo person. So, if I come here and I do not understand another language, it makes no difference. You expect that people will speak to you in English, and that is what we were exposed to, but the next thing you hear is a local language.</td>
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<td>4.5.8, P. 136</td>
<td>Reported competency in isiZulu: Not well. I do not speak the language but can understand some. I would say very poor because I do not speak the language. I understand a little of it and speak little also. I would give myself 30%.</td>
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Not that useful

- "... women are the best, because we talk to ourselves as women."
- "Ladies are very friendly in this country."
- "I would say men, particularly those advanced in age, from 40 years upward."
- "I think women here are more intelligent and peaceful. They can teach you better."
- "I think the easiest way to learn isiZulu is to enrol for a language programme."
- "... would like to get someone from the Zulu who can teach me the language."
- "I would like to meet someone who can really teach me the language."
- "Well, in Nigeria we have different languages and the general language used is English. ... when I heard people speaking isiZulu I was surprised."
- "I do not understand Yoruba, I do not understand Igbo because I am Edo person. So, if I come here and I do not understand another language, is like I am staying in Nigeria, it makes no difference."
- "... you expect that people will speak to you in English, and that is what we were exposed to, but the next thing you hear is a local language."
- "Not well. I do not understand the language."
- "I do not speak the language but can understand some."
- "I would say very poor because I do not speak the language."
- "I understand a little of it and speak little also. I would give myself 30%."

Not well